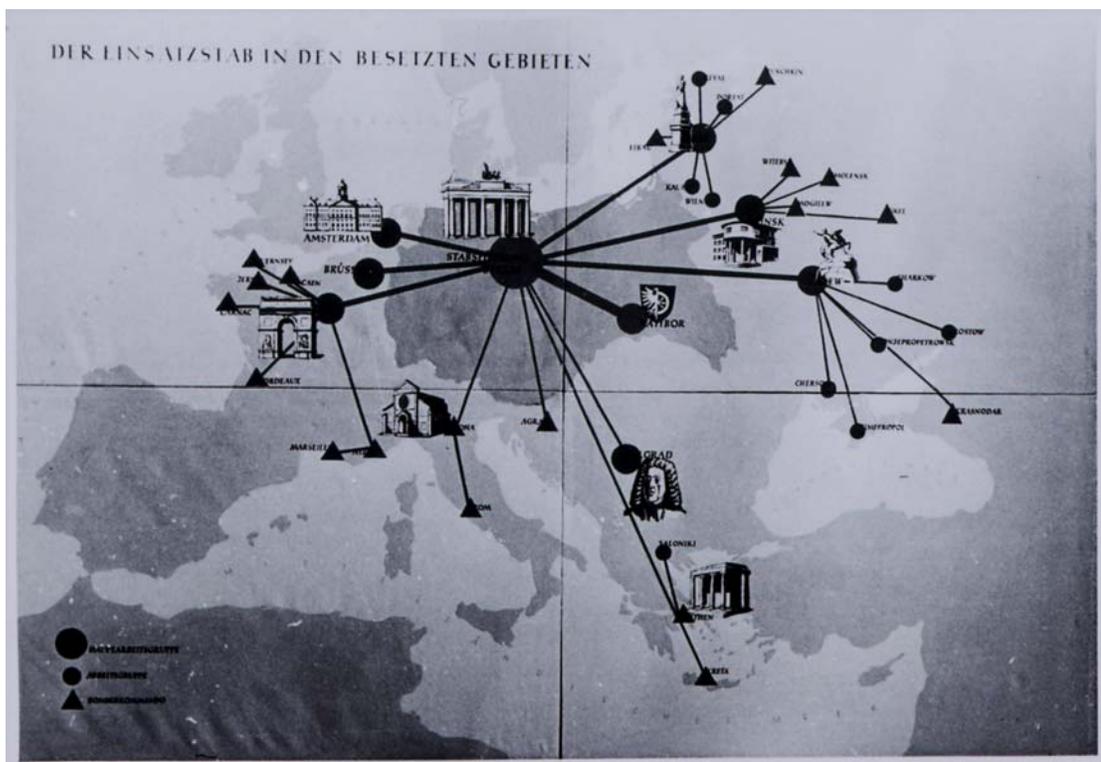


RECONSTRUCTING THE RECORD OF NAZI CULTURAL PLUNDER

A GUIDE TO THE DISPERSED ARCHIVES
OF THE EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG (ERR)
AND THE POSTWAR RETRIEVAL OF ERR LOOT

Patricia Kennedy Grimsted



Revised and Updated Edition, 2015

Introduction:

**“Alfred Rosenberg and the ERR: The Records of Plunder
and the Fate of Its Loot”** LAST REVISED August 2015

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IISH Research Paper 47, by the International Institute of Social History (IISH), in association with the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam, and with generous support of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference), Amsterdam, March 2011 © Patricia Kennedy Grimsted

The entire original volume and individual sections are available in a PDF file for free download at: <http://socialhistory.org/en/publications/reconstructing-record-nazi-cultural-plunder>.

The updated Chapter 10 (originally Chapter 9) **United States of America** (revised April 2015) is also now available at the ERR Project site: <http://www.errproject.org>.

Other updated country chapters and a new Israeli chapter will be made available as soon as editing is completed.

The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR), the special operational task force headed by Adolf Hitler's leading ideologue Alfred Rosenberg, was the major NSDAP agency engaged in looting cultural valuables in Nazi-occupied countries during the Second World War. The detail with which the ERR documented the art, archives, books, and other Judaica it plundered has proved essential for the recovery of cultural valuables after the war and their return to victims or heirs.

The original 2011 edition of this guide describes the archival remains of the ERR in 29 repositories in nine countries – from Washington and Brussels to Moscow and Kyiv. The new edition with a new Israeli chapter adds a tenth country and an additional four repositories, while the enlarged USA section adds four more repositories, and the new Dutch chapter adds two more.

The whole volume serves as a preliminary guide to remaining documents generated by the ERR, and in many cases it goes well beyond ERR and related Möbel-Aktion (M-Aktion: literally Furniture Operation) materials. Attention also focuses on key records of postwar U.S., French, British, and Soviet agencies seeking to retrieve the ERR loot, particularly those components that incorporated wartime ERR documents or reports on key ERR repositories and staff, including war-crimes trials. Links are also provided to many related but dispersed archival sources now available on the Internet: These include records from the U.S. National Archives (NACP), the German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv), the National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA), the State Archives of Ukraine (TsDAVO), and other repositories, with additional digital contributions, providing improved access to a major component of the record of wartime plunder and retrieval of cultural loot.

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FOREWORD

The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference) is most pleased to sponsor the electronic publication of *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Guide to the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and the Postwar Retrieval of ERR Loot* and to have assisted in its preparation. The Guide is published in association with the International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam, and the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam. The International Institute of Social History's own massive Amsterdam and Paris library and archival collections were plundered by the ERR beginning in 1940, and the ERR used its Amsterdam building on the Keizersgracht as its headquarters in the Netherlands.

Compiled by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, the preeminent expert on archives displaced as a result of the Second World War, the Guide is a much expanded and updated edition of the volume initially published in 2011 as *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Survey of the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)*.¹ In covering the postwar retrieval of what was taken by the ERR, the *Guide* also provides information on the postwar retrieval of what was taken by other Nazi agencies. The initial publication in 2011 has proved invaluable to historians, archivists, provenance researchers, museum curators, art dealers, and the heirs of families and communities that were plundered, and the *Guide* can be expected to be even more so.

Dedicated since 1951 to providing a measure of justice for Jewish victims of Nazism, the Claims Conference has always been concerned with the restitution of plundered artworks, religious artifacts, archives, libraries, and other cultural property. But restitution efforts in this area have in the past yielded far fewer results than have efforts to reconstitute non-cultural assets such as immovable property and bank accounts, insurance policies, and other financial holdings. The reasons for this lack of progress include the ease of transporting artworks and books across international borders, the lack of public records documenting original ownership, the difficulty of tracing art transactions through the decades, and in some countries, the lack of government commitment to restitution, appropriate legislation, or a central authority to arbitrate claims.

At the Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets in 1998, attention turned to the importance of archival records in understanding the plunder of art and other cultural property by the Nazis and their allies. Subsequently, at a seminar presentation at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in February 2000, Patricia Grimsted made an appeal for a virtual compendium of the widely dispersed records of one of the most important Nazi cultural looting agencies, the ERR. This idea was discussed with interest by delegates from many countries later in October of that year at the Vilnius International Forum on Holocaust-Era Looted Cultural Assets. During the next few years, Dr. Grimsted continued to uncover the locations of scattered ERR files and wrote an article on patterns of ERR library and archival plunder during the Second World War, as well as articles on the postwar fate of the ERR's loot and its documentation.

¹ Initially published as IISH Research Paper 47, by the International Institute of Social History (IISH), in association with the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam, and with generous support of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference), Amsterdam, March 2011. The entire original volume and individual sections are available in a PDF file for free download at: <http://socialhistory.org/en/publications/reconstructing-record-nazi-cultural-plunder>.

At the same time, the Claims Conference and the World Jewish Restitution Organization (WJRO) began a comprehensive program to assist the further restitution of Jewish-owned art and cultural property lost and plundered during the Holocaust. Although a number of countries have compiled lists of cultural losses, there has been no large-scale attempt to determine the full scope of cultural property seized by the specific agencies of the Nazis and their allies that has not been restituted. Instead, the focus has been on checking the provenance of museum collections and on claims made by individual survivors and heirs of owners. But more often than not, families and communities do not have full knowledge of what the Nazi agencies stole from them. Art dealers, major collectors, and institutions may have kept lists of artworks or catalogs of libraries and archives prior to the war, but often such lists and catalogs – like their owners – did not survive the Holocaust, and in any event, the vast majority of the millions of persons who were robbed had no such lists or catalogs. We therefore decided to try to reconstruct the historical-archival record so as (1) to develop listings of what was plundered by the Nazis and their allies; (2) to assemble listings of cultural property known to have been restituted; and thereby (3) to produce net listings of outstanding items of cultural property that have yet to be returned.²

In consultation with Dr. Grimsted, the Claims Conference has therefore undertaken to support three major activities in regard to the records of the ERR. The first is the online publication of this *Guide*. The second is the continuing imaging of the ERR files located in Kyiv (Kiev), Moscow, Vilnius, Berlin, Koblenz, Amsterdam, Paris, New York, and Washington with a view to making the ERR records generally available. And the third is the joint creation with the USHMM of a Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume that brings together in searchable form documentation, including photographs, of the over 21,000 major art objects that the ERR confiscated from Jews in Paris, in other parts of France and parts of Belgium and brought for processing to the Jeu de Paume in the Tuileries Gardens.³ This Database is currently being expanded to include information on objects plundered by the Nazis in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands whether or not they were processed at the Jeu de Paume.

These three activities have been proving to be very helpful to the field of provenance research that has developed so greatly in the art world – but also in regard to libraries and Judaica – over the past decade or so. Indeed, in some respects these three activities taken as a whole may constitute a paradigm shift for the field. Instead of looking at collections in museums today, at lists of objects being sought by claimants, or at lists of objects found after the Second World War, the aim is to reconstruct the original record of what was seized and from whom by bringing together what remains of the detailed records that the Nazis – in this case specifically the ERR – kept of their looting.

This approach should prove helpful not only in the restitution of Jewish cultural property but also in the identification of the losses by non-Jewish institutions and families. In particular in its activities on the Eastern Front, the ERR necessarily had different priorities and different patterns of plunder than in Western Europe, because the Germans found only small private or Jewish-held collections in western areas annexed to the Soviet Union in 1939. As a result, unlike France, the ERR plundered cultural items primarily from Soviet state institutions. Countries such as Russia and Ukraine that are seeking the return of their cultural property often lack knowledge of what was taken from where by which Nazi agency and what was returned after the war.

² Information on the Claims Conference-WJRO Looted Art and Cultural Property Initiative may be seen at <http://art.claimscon.org>.

³ See <http://errproject.org/jeudepaume/>

In June 2009, 47 countries along with relevant non-governmental organizations participated in the Holocaust Era Assets Conference held in Prague and agreed to the Terezín Declaration, which calls for international cooperation in provenance research and the restitution of cultural property. This Guide directly relates to the goals of the Terezín Declaration and such international cooperation, and Dr. Grimsted appropriately presented the project at the Prague Conference.

The importance of this Guide goes well beyond its relevance to provenance research and the restitution of cultural property, however. In its allocation grants to institutions in research and education, the Claims Conference has for many years been the principal supporter of Holocaust-related archival work. The importance of this Guide is equally in its relevance to the restitution of history.

Wesley A. Fisher, Director of Research
Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany
Head of Claims Conference-World Jewish Restitution Organization
Looted Art and Cultural Property Initiative

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TECHNICAL NOTE

Numerical Hierarchy: Given the scope and complexity of this compendium, the editor and publisher have introduced a numerical hierarchical system often found in European archival literature. This system is intended to facilitate cross-referencing within the text and to provide a modicum of consistency for the description of archival materials within varying repositories in different countries. The repositories described differ widely in their own organization and usage, and at times, the numerical system imposed may appear at odds with the internal usage of a given repository. In general, the levels breakdown as follows:

Level 1 COUNTRY

Level 2 REPOSITORY

Level 3 RECORD GROUP (BESTAND, FOND, ETC.)

Level 4 SERIES

Level 5 SUB-SERIES

Levels 3–5 tend to denote the formal names of record groups, series, and sub-series within an archival repository, but this is not always the case. In a few cases a sixth level has been needed. In some instances, unnumbered headings have been inserted to designate or highlight particular group of documents not indicated as such by the archive itself.

Document-level descriptions are usually preceded by an en-dash.

Documentary Coverage: The descriptions of archival holdings here focus on two broad groups of documentation, although in many cases related documents created by other agencies are also included.

First and foremost are those documents created by the ERR, its working groups and special staffs, as well as the projected university-level Hohe Schule for the Nazi elite and its Central Library (ZBHS) and institutes, in particular the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question Research (IEJ) in Frankfurt. Also included are the records of the related Möbel-Aktion for the removal of household furnishings from Jewish lodgings in France, Belgium and the Netherlands, which was administratively run by the Western Office (Amt Westen) of Rosenberg's Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (RMbO), but actually directed by ERR staff. The documents discussed address not only the confiscation and processing of cultural assets, but also their shipment, distribution, and storage in repositories throughout the Reich, including Austria and the Sudetenland.

The second general group consists of the documentation created by the western Allies and various governments in the process of locating, recovering, identifying, and returning the archives, books, art, and other cultural or religious objects seized by the ERR or during the Möbel-Aktion.

Beyond these two groups are such related records as the materials prepared for the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, where Rosenberg was among the defendants and many ERR documents were used as exhibits, and also other investigations and trials of ERR staff (to the extent available), for example in France.

Level of Detail: Descriptions herein differ from repository to repository in depth and extent. In larger repositories where detailed finding aids are available to researchers, the tendency is to rely on those finding aids and to provide only summary descriptions. Two key exceptions are: 1) the Bundesarchiv Koblenz, because the descriptions of record group B 323 located here were prepared for this project long before the recently completed German finding aid went on-line, and 2) the Archives of the French Foreign Ministry (FRMAE) in La Courneuve (near Paris), because the coverage of select files prepared for this Guide represents the first detailed descriptions of many of these records available to the general public. More detail is also given to record groups, series, or sub-series where the only available finding aids are brief folder lists, as is often the case at the National Archives of the United States in College Park, MD (NACP).

For smaller repositories and for repositories with limited ERR-related materials, such as YIVO in New York and the Central State Archive (CVA) in Vilnius, more detail is provided at the file and document levels.

Transliteration of Cyrillic: For transcription of Cyrillic references, the Library of Congress system of transliteration is used throughout, modified by the omission of ligatures. Exceptions may appear when an alternate is used in a documentary title or text.

Geographic Names: In general, place names are rendered in accepted English forms (Moscow, Cracow, Vienna, etc.) or in a form derived from the present-day official language of a country. The major exception to this rule are the ERR evacuation sites and repositories in the Sudetenland. These are given in German first with Czech in parentheses, for example, Troppau (Cz. Opava). These sites appear so often in the German and the U.S. documentation that asserting the Czech and switching to German repository names would disrupt the text and create confusion.

Where names are almost phonetically identical in their English, German, and local forms, the local form alone is used, for example, Novgorod, Dnipropetrovsk, Tukums, Pärnu, etc. Where the German and local names fundamentally differ from one another, the local names come first with the German in parentheses: Tallinn (Ger. Reval), Pskov (Ger. Pleskau), Mohileu (Ger. Mogilew), etc. Here, too, when a well-known English form is nearly the same phonetically as either of the forms given, no additional variation is added.

Where cities changed hands in 1939 or in 1945, they are noted as follows: Niasvizh (prewar Nieśwież, Poland), Ratibor (postwar Racibórz, Poland), etc. In the case of Vilnius, Vilna is added to accommodate the predominant English form from between the world wars, as well as the YIVO preference: Vilnius (also Vilna; prewar Wilno, Poland).

U.S. postwar documents refer to Altaussee as Alt Aussee. Within this Guide, Altaussee has been used.

Acronyms: Acronyms reflect the original language of the institution or other agency they represent. In the case of Belgium, both Flemish and French acronyms are presented. A list of the acronyms used in this text (along with names in their original language and English translation) is given. The full form of a repository or agency name is also provided upon first use in each country chapter and repository-level section.

Archival Terminology in the Post-Soviet Realm: In the Soviet Union, as well as archives today in Russia and Ukraine, the Russian and Ukrainian archival term *fond* can be more extensive than a “record group,” because it can include personal papers and also what Western archivists would refer to as a “collection.” Hence the term has been anglicized and should not be translated as “collection” or “fund.” That would create confusion about the type of archival materials involved.

For citations from Russian and Ukrainian archives, references are given as follows: archival acronym, fond number, inventory or series (*opis'* in Russian or *opys* in Ukrainian) and file unit (*edinitsa khraneniia* or *delo* in Russian or *sprava* in Ukrainian). In both Russian and Ukrainian, an *opis'* or *opys* is a series within a fond and also a finding aid or inventory of file units. In citations of folios (pages) within a file, the letter “v” after a folio number indicates the overleaf (verso).

Names of Individuals and Art Collections: Particular attention has been given to identifying the correct names of owners whose cultural assets were confiscated by the ERR. Often, the only available documentation for these are ERR records, and in many cases, the ERR rendered names incorrectly or in a Germanized form. Of particular concern are the Jewish owners of art collections seized in France and processed by the ERR in the Jeu de Paume in Paris.

The on-line database “Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR): Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume,” a related project of the Conference on Jewish Materials Claims Against Germany located at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (see Section 10.2.3.), is based on the original ERR records and thus adheres largely to ERR spellings, some of which went on to circulate in postwar documents, including U.S. intelligence reports and, more recently, *The AAM Guide to Provenance Research*. Appendix 1 of this volume is based on the names of collection owners as they were registered in French, such as they are found in French claims dossiers or other sources. ERR versions of names are also provided.

The French or ERR versions may not be the only versions of the names encountered. Some of the owners were of foreign nationality and their names often took another form upon assuming French citizenship. Some later filed postwar claims from countries other than France. In addition, different members of the same family sometimes used different forms of their name (or even a pseudonym) in different countries in the course of their flight from Nazi persecution. Accordingly, names can appear in slightly variant forms in the descriptions of the records below. It has not been possible to correct inconsistencies or provide alternate spellings for all of the victims, but where possible, corrections have been added.

URL’s for Websites: The links inserted in this Guide have been verified and were deemed to function as of the date of editing and publication. This does not preclude the possibility that some will change over time or be discontinued.

On-line Research Resources: The number of digitized resources available to researchers, including specialists working in provenance research, has expanded significantly in the last ten years, ranging from the offerings of commercial vendors such as Fold3 (earlier Footnote.com) to those of state archives such as the ARGUS system of the Bundesarchiv. Most of these resources are explained at length in the text (see in particular German and U.S. coverage in Chapters 3 and 10). Two items, however, should be mentioned here, as they bear on specific features of this Guide.

First, the vendor Fold3.com under contract with NARA has now (as of 2015) completed posting on the Internet of all of the intended series of records from NARA microfilm publications relating to the Nazi-Era cultural assets. Earlier in the 2011 edition of the Survey, the editors inserted the appropriate links beneath the proper file descriptions for three of the four NARA microfilm publications available at that time. As of 2015, Fold3 now displays digitized images from fourteen NARA microfilm series described in the NACP coverage below, as well as three listed from Austria not described in detail. A list of all those series with links to the appropriate sections of the Guide has been added in the introduction to the expanded section covering relevant holdings in the National Archives at College Park (NACP – see Section 10.1.). Access to all of these series of documents is now free at Fold3.com (although registration is required), and no further digitization is planned.

Second, less important to provenance research, but important to the overall history of Alfred Rosenberg's activities, including the ERR, are the documents processed for the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal (IMT) in Nuremberg. The proceedings and most of the documents entered in evidence before the IMT were published in *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg*, known to specialists as the "Blue Series." Within the Blue Series, the Nuremberg editors placed an asterisk after documents appearing in the document volumes of the series. The editors of this Guide have also adopted this practice as a service to researchers. This is all the more convenient, since the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress has posted the English edition of the Blue Series on-line (see Section 10.1.8.). Briefer coverage in the Guide now also extends to the official IMT records held by France (see Sections 2.2.5. and 2.3.1.), Russia (see Section 7.2.1.), and the United Kingdom (see Section 9.2.1.), but none of the latter three are available on the Internet.

Telephone Numbers: Depending on provider, mobile or land-line, private or public, making local or long distance calls within some of the countries discussed in this Guide is not as straightforward as in other countries. Researchers should consult the Internet for the most up-to-date information on dialing telephone numbers in the country they plan to visit.

Printing: The Guide and its appendices are for the most part formatted on U.S. letter-size paper throughout, as this prints well on DIN A4-size paper as well. The sole exception is Appendix 1, which is formatted on DIN A4 and can also be printed (landscape format) to U.S. legal.

Updates: Updates are continuing country by country, with the new coverage posted when available at the special ERR Project website: www.errproject.org. Earlier an updated Introduction was posted, with versions of September 2013, May 2014, but those are now replaced by the most recently August 2015 version.

The compiler and sponsors would be exceedingly grateful for further updates, comments, and corrections, which can be forwarded to pkg@iisg.nl.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

The following list contains abbreviations and acronyms used throughout the entire new *Guide*. Location has usually been given only for institutions that still exist. Details concerning historical institutions and units are provided in the text.

AA	Auswärtiges Amt (Foreign Office), Berlin
AAA	Archives of American Art
AG	Arbeitsgruppe (Working Group)
AGR	Archives Générale de Royaume (National Archives), Brussels
AHC	Ardelia Hall Collection
AJHS	American Jewish Historical Society, New York
ALIU	Art Looting Investigatory Unit
AMG	Allied Military Government
AMN	Archives des Musées Nationaux (Archives of the National Museums), Paris, now in AN-Pierrefitte
AN-Paris	Archives nationales de France, Site de Paris (National Archives of France, Paris Site), 19th and 20th cc. records now in AN-Pierrefitte
AN-Pierrefitte	Archives nationales de France, Site de Pierrefitte-sur-Seine (National Archives of France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine Site)
APA	Aussenpolitisches Amt (Foreign Policy Office)
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief (National Archives), Brussels
BA	Bundesarchiv ([German] Federal Archives), former acronym; now BArch preferred
BADV	Bundesamt für zentrale Dienste und offene Vermögensfragen (Federal Office for Central Services and Unresolved Property Issues), Berlin
BArch	Bundesarchiv ([German] Federal Archives)
BArch-MA	Bundesarchiv, Militärarchiv (Federal Archives-Military Archives), Freiburg
BIA	Bureau d'investigation artistique (Office of Art Investigation)
BRüG	Bundesrückerstattungsgesetz (Federal Restitution Law)
BTG	Brüsseler Treuhandgesellschaft (Brussels Trust Company)
CADN	Centre des archives diplomatiques de Nantes (Center for Diplomatic Archives in Nantes)

CARAN	Centre d'accueil et de recherche des Archives nationales (National Archives Center for Reception and Research), Paris
CAHJP	Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CJH	Center for Jewish History, New York
CCP	Central Collecting Point
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Centre for Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris
CEGES	Centre d'Études et de Documentation de Guerre et Sociétés contemporaines (Center for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society), Brussels
CFAJ	Commission française d'archives juives (French Commission for Jewish Archives), Paris
CGQJ	Commissariat général aux questions juives (General Commissariat for Jewish Questions)
ChGK	Chrezvychnaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissia po ustanovleniiu i rassledovaniiu zlodeianii nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov i ikh soobshchnikov i prichinnogo imi ushcherba grazhdanam, kolkhozam, obshchestvennym organizatsiiam, gosudarstvennym predpriatiiam i uchrezhdeniiam SSSR (Extraordinary State Commission for the Establishment and Investigation of Crimes of the German-Fascist Aggressors and their Accomplices and for the Appraisal of the Losses Incurred by Citizens, Collective Farms, Social Organizations, State Enterprises, and Institutions of the USSR)
CHAN	Centre historique des Archives nationales (Historical Center of the National Archives), Paris; now AN-Paris
CIR	Consolidated Intelligence Report, OSS ALIU
CRA	Commission de récupération artistique (Commission for the Recovery of Art), Paris
CVA	Centrinis Valstybinis archyvas (Central State Archive), Vilnius
DBFU	Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP (The Führer's Commissioner for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training of the NSDAP)
DGER	Direction général de l'enseignement et de la recherche (General Directorate for Study and Research), Paris
DHM	Deutsches Historisches Museum (German Historical Museum), Berlin
DIR	Detailed Intelligence Report, OSS ALIU

DOS	Dienst voor de Oorlogsslachtoffer (Service for War Victims), Brussels
DSK	Devisenschutzkommando (Currency Protection Commando)
EHRI	European Holocaust Research Infrastructure
ERR	Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (Operational Staff Reichsleiter Rosenberg)
FRMAE	Ministère des Affaires étrangères et développement international (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development), often MAE; earlier MAEE, Paris
GA RF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GFP	Geheime Feldpolizei (Secret Field Police)
GlavPU	Glavnoe politicheskoe upravlenie Krasnoi Armii (Main Political Administration of the Red Army)
HAG	Hauptarbeitsgruppe (Main Working Group), under ERR
HICOG	U.S. High Commissioner for Germany
IEJ	Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage (Institute for Research on the Jewish Question), Frankfurt am Main, later Hungen
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute of Contemporary History), Munich
IISG / IISH	Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (International Institute of Social History), Amsterdam
IJCP	International Journal of Cultural Property
IMJ	The Israel Museum, Jerusalem
IMT	International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg
IWM	The Imperial War Museum, London
JCR	Jewish Cultural Reconstruction
JHM	Joods Historisch Museum (Jewish Historical Museum), Amsterdam
JNUL	Jewish National and University Library, now the National Library of Israel (NLI), Jerusalem
JRSO	Jewish Restitution Successor Organization
LIRO	Lippmann, Rosenthal en Co (so-called ‘Robber Bank’, where Dutch Jews were required to deposit valuables)

LV ABM	Landesverwaltung der Archive, Bibliotheken und Museen (Provincial Authority for Archives, Libraries, and Museums)
MAE	Ministère des Affaires étrangères (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), often FRMAE, Paris
MAEE	Ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes (Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs), now FRMAE or MAE, Paris
M-Aktion	Möbel-Aktion (<i>literally</i> Furniture Operation)
MBF	Der Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich (Military Commander in France)
MCCP	Munich Central Collecting Point
MEA	Ministère des Affaires économiques (Ministry of Economic Affairs), Brussels
MEZ	Ministerie van Economische Zaken (Ministry of Economic Affairs), Brussels
MFA&A	Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives
MNR	Musées Nationaux Récupération (Recovered Artworks in National Museums [of France])
MVD	Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del (Ministry of Internal Affairs), Moscow
NACP	National Archives of the United States, College Park, MD
NAID	National Archives Identification number
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NIOD	NIOD Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocide Studies (NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies), Amsterdam
NKVD	Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs)
NLI	The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National-Socialist German Workers Party)
OAD	Offenbach Archival Depot
OBIP	Office des biens et intérêts privés (Office of Private Property and Interests), France
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (High Command of the Army)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (High Command of the Armed Forces)
OMGUS	Office of Military Government, United States

OSS	Office of Strategic Services
OUSCCPAC	Office of United States Chief Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality
PA AA	Politisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt (Political Archive of the Foreign Office), Berlin
PRO	Public Record Office (UK); now TNA
PS	Paris-Storey (document series prepared for IMT)
RA	Collection des fonds des services de la récupération artistiques (Collection of fonds from art recovery agencies), former MAE fond designation, now 209SUP
RG	Record Group (NARA and other US archival designation)
RGAE	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (Russian State Archive of the Economy), Moscow
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive), Moscow
RIOD	Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Royal Institute of War Documentation); now NIOD
RKO	Reichskommissariat / Reichskommissar für das Ostland (Reich Commissar / Commissariat for Ostland)
RKU	Reichskommissariat / Reichskommissar Ukraine (Reich Commissariat / Commissar for Ukraine)
RMbO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
RV	Rose Valland, former MAEE fond designation
SEA	Staff Evidence Analysis
SCL	Sous-commission des livres (Sub-Commission for Books), under CRA
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service)
SEA	Summary Evidence Analysis (documents produced for the IMT)
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force
Sipo / SiPo	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police)
SMAD	Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland (Soviet Military Administration in Germany), Russian = SVAG
SNK	Stichting Nederlandsch Kunstbezit (Netherlands Art Ownership Foundation)

SOMA	Studie en Documentatiecentrum Oorlog en Hedendaagse Maatschappij (Center for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society), Brussels
SROA	Service de remise en place des oeuvres d'art (Service for the Return of Works of Art), France
SVG	Service des Victimes de la Guerre (Service for War Victims), Brussels
SVAG	Sovetskaia voennaia administratsiia v Germanii (Soviet Military Administration in Germany), German = SMAD
TMI	Tribunal militaire internationale (International Military Tribunal, English = IMT)
TNA	The National Archives of the United Kingdom, London-Kew; formerly PRO
TsDAVO	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchikh orhaniv derzhavnoi vldy ta upravlinnia Ukraïny (Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of State Power and Administration of Ukraine), Kyiv (Kiev)
TsDAZhR URSS	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhovtnevoï Revoliutsii Ukraïns'koï Radians'koï Sotsialistychnoï Respubliki (Central State Archive of the October Revolution, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Kyiv (Kiev), now TsDAVO
TsGAOR SSSR	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii Soiuzu Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Moscow, now part of GA RF
TsGOA SSSR	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv Soiuzu Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (Central State Special Archive of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Moscow, now part of RGVA
TsKhIDK	Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kolleksiï (Center for the Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections), Moscow, now part of RGVA, before 1992 TsGOA SSSR
TVK	Treuhandverwaltung für Kulturgut (Trust Administration for Cultural Assets), Federal Republic of Germany
URO	United Restitution Organization
USACA	U.S. Section of the Allied Commission for Austria
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC
WCCP	Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point (under OMGUS)
YIVO	Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut (YIVO Institute for Jewish Research), before 1939 in Wilno, Poland; after 1940 in New York

ZBHS Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule (Central Library of the Hohe Schule NSDAP)

ZI Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte (Central Institute for Art History), Munich

INTRODUCTION

ALFRED ROSENBERG AND THE ERR: THE RECORDS OF PLUNDER AND THE FATE OF ITS LOOT

The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR), the special operational task force headed by Adolf Hitler's ideological henchman Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), was the agency of the National-Socialist German Workers Party (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, NSDAP) organized specifically for plunder of cultural assets in German-occupied countries during the Second World War. Alfred Rosenberg, its chief, was hanged in Nuremberg on 16 October 1946, following conviction for “crimes against humanity” at the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal (IMT). Although cultural looting was only one his crimes and ERR was hardly the only culprit, the scale of systematic looting of art, archives, and libraries by the ERR from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Baltic and Black Seas in the east was staggering. Memory of those crimes against culture linger on in connection with the thousands of cultural and religious objects never returned to their owners or heirs and the hundreds of thousands of books never returned to the libraries from which they were seized.

Thanks to fastidious ERR documentation, much of the cultural loot found by the western Allies was ultimately returned to the country of origin, even if not always to those spoliated. By bringing together more of the paper trail left by the ERR in the Guide that follows, perhaps we can better map the plunder if not hope for further identification and more returns. Many looted items repatriated to the country of seizure, to France, for example, have yet to be identified as to their owners, despite the availability of extensive documentation. By contrast, Soviet authorities never utilized the ERR files they captured for postwar cultural retrieval or restitution, and hid them away for half a century, out of reach to specialists at home and abroad. As a result since domestic cultural restitution was not a priority, many objects seized by the ERR and returned to the Soviet Union after the war never reached their home institutions. Given Soviet contempt for German documents, they never realized the extent to which they could have helped them locate and retrieve their own cultural valuables seized during the war. Nor has there still been any attempt (even since 1991) to identify and return many objects seized first by the ERR or other German culprits throughout the Continent and then seized a second time by Soviet authorities at the end of the war. Identifying and utilizing the paper trail has been complicated in the past, not only by long-closed archives and the politics of restitution, but also, as evident in this volume, because surviving ERR files and related restitution documentation today remain dispersed in ten countries and more than 35 archives, much of it long inadequately described.

To help resolve these issues, at least in the ERR case, the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference) has undertaken the tripartite ERR project described in the Foreword. Already as a result, considerably more surviving ERR and related documentation is being made available on the Internet, and a database of over 22,000 individual art objects from Jewish collections in France and Belgium processed by the ERR in the Jeu de Paume in Paris is now also available on the Internet. As a third and coordinating component, the present Guide should lead the researcher to ERR and related documents describing its plunder and the postwar fate of its loot. First issued in March 2011, the revised edition now in progress is updating and expanding the coverage with many changes and more data that have become available since the initial text was finalized in 2010.

In this updated Introduction, we first give a brief sketch of Rosenberg's role, and the

organization and operation of the ERR, as a context for the records it created. We next describe postwar efforts to find and return the ERR loot, showing the further dispersal of ERR records, including their incorporation in the records of western retrieval and restitution efforts and war crimes trials. Then, in individual country chapters, the Guide itself will describe remaining files in their present archival locations, and alert the researcher with appropriate links to more documentation now readily available on the Internet. Even before the entire volume can be revised, updated country chapters are being posted as completed.

The Man and His Mission

The ERR chief and namesake, Alfred Rosenberg, was born in Reval (Tallinn) of German background, when Estonia was still part of the Russian Empire.⁴ In 1910, he went to Riga to study architecture, but his polytechnic was moved to Moscow, where he finished his studies in 1917. Witnessing the war and revolutionary turmoil that left the Bolsheviks triumphant, he returned to Reval in February 1918, just days before the German army arrived in the city and Estonia declared its independence. On 30 November 1918, he delivered his first political speech – “Marxism and Jews” – then boarded a train for Germany, heading first to Berlin and then to Munich.

Within weeks of arriving in the Bavarian capital, Rosenberg was already working at the weekly of one of the future founders of the NSDAP. During the next few years as a part of Adolf Hitler’s inner circle, Rosenberg rose to editor of the party newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter*, edited a monthly on the Jewish question, and penned many polemics concerning Jews, Free Masonry, and Bolshevism. His apocalyptic response to his imagined Judaic-Masonic-Bolshevik conspiracy came together in many writings, including his ponderous *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* (*Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*), first published in 1930.⁵

Rosenberg’s Baltic German roots and experience in revolutionary Russia helped make him a party expert on Eastern Europe. When Hitler became Reich Chancellor in January 1933, he put Rosenberg in charge of the Foreign Policy Office (Ausßenpolitisches Amt, APA) of the NSDAP. That was soon followed by his promotion to Reichsleiter (Reich leader), a party rank in theory parallel to that of a government minister.

A year later, Hitler appointed Rosenberg Commissioner of the Führer for the Supervision of

⁴ Parts of this Introduction are summarized from my earlier article, “Roads to Ratibor: Library and Archival Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 19, no. 3 (2005), pp. 390–458, at <https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/err-ratibor-pkg.pdf>; and its sequel, “The Postwar Fate of Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg Archival and Library Plunder, and the Dispersal of ERR Records,” in the *Journal of Art Crime*, Fall 2010, pp. 23–48; at http://www.artcrimereasearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/4-TOC-fall_2010.pdf; updated from *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20, no. 2 (2006). See also the Grimsted chapter on ERR archival seizures in P.K. Grimsted, F.J. Hoogewoud, and Eric Ketelaar (eds.), *Returned from Russia: Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues* (Institute of Art and Law, UK, 2013 edn with Grimsted’s “Afterword–2013”), pp. 65–80. See also my 2012 article surveying library seizures and patterns of restitution: “L’ERR versus le RSHA: Les formes de pillage et de migration de livres et d’archives comme facteurs intervenants dans le processus de restitution,” in Alexandre Sumpf and Vincent Laniol (eds.), *Saisies, spoliations et logiques de restitution. Archives et bibliothèques au XXe siècle (Actes du colloque international, Strasbourg, 22–23 octobre 2010)* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012), pp. 37–65; at [https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/grimstedstrasbourg12title.pdf - overlay-context=en/russia-archives-and-restitution/bibliography](https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/grimstedstrasbourg12title.pdf-overlay-context=en/russia-archives-and-restitution/bibliography). More extensive related listings appear in the bibliography at the end of this volume. See also the on-line bibliography, “Displaced Cultural Treasures as a Result of World War II and Restitution Issues: A bibliography of publications by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted” at <http://socialhistory.org/en/russia-archives-and-restitution/bibliography>, with electronic texts of many of the listings.

⁵ An English translation of Rosenberg’s *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* appeared in 1982: Rosenberg, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century: An Evaluation of the Spiritual-Intellectual Confrontations of our Age*, trans. Vivian Bird (Torrance, CA: Noontide Press, 1982).

the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training of the NSDAP (Der Beauftragte des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP, DBFU). Rosenberg used that office to build up a vast network of ideological and cultural operations.⁶ By 1937 the DBFU under Rosenberg's guidance had special offices for art and music, along with other fields of culture, which were later to provide staff, bureaucracy, and a cultural network for the ERR as an operational offshoot.

This rapid expansion of enormous responsibilities led Rosenberg to reorganize his private office into what became known as the Rosenberg Chancellery (Kanzlei Rosenberg), which oversaw his official correspondence on behalf of the APA and his ideological organizations, especially the DBFU.⁷ As reorganized and expanded in 1938, the DBFU included an Office for Science (Amt Wissenschaft), which oversaw planning for a university-level Hohe Schule for the future Nazi elite, a training center Rosenberg planned to build in Bavaria after the war.

Despite the Nazi-Soviet pact (German-Soviet Treaty of Non-Aggression) in 1939, Rosenberg and his close associates continued to pursue their ideological struggle against Bolshevism in preparation for invasion of the Soviet Union in what became Operation Barbarossa in June 1941. Rosenberg was appointed as the Führer's Commissioner for the Central Handling of Questions concerning the Eastern Realm (Beauftragter des Führers für die zentrale Bearbeitung der Fragen des osteuropäischen Raumes).

Simultaneously, Rosenberg expanded his energies on behalf of the Hohe Schule, for which Hitler authorized preparatory work in January 1940. Indeed, the Central Library of the Hohe Schule (Zentralbibliothek der Hohen Schule, ZBHS) was already operational in Berlin from early 1939, before moving to Austrian Carinthia (Kärnten) in 1942. In March 1940 Rosenberg inaugurated the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question (Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage, IEJ) in Frankfurt, the only Hohe Schule institute that operated during the war, although the ERR was also actively collecting materials for other Hohe Schule institutes. Later in 1943 IEJ operations and most of its vast collections were evacuated to Hungen, 70 kilometers to the northeast. Meanwhile Masonic materials not turned over to the RSHA were deposited in a hunting lodge in Hirzenheim in the same region. The invasion of France in June 1940 presented Rosenberg with an opportunity to start more active plundering of materials for the Hohe Schule, with the resulting establishment of the ERR.

ERR AIMS AND AGENCY STRUCTURE

As an operational offshoot of the DBFU with the aim of plundering cultural materials, the ERR effectively started immediately after the invasion of France on 14 June. Rosenberg dispatched a key DBFU staff director, Reichshauptstellenleiter Professor Georg Ebert, who by 18 June 1940 occupied the building of the largest Masonic lodge, the Grand Orient of France (15 rue Cadet).

⁶ Regarding Rosenberg's intellectual background and his activities as DBFU, see Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Studien zum Machtkampf im Nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Stuttgart Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970; 2nd edn with bibliographic essay by Stephan Lehnstaedt: Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006; = *Herausgegeben vom Institut für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 1). Ernst Piper's impressive biography of Rosenberg, *Alfred Rosenberg: Hitlers Chefideologe* (Munich: Karl Blessing Verlag, 2005), fills in important background on Rosenberg's political career and varied activities, but does not add significant coverage of the ERR or the Hohe Schule. See also the early biography and register of related documents by Joseph Billig, *Alfred Rosenberg dans l'action idéologique, politique et administrative du Reich hitlérien: Inventaire commenté de la collection de documents conservés au C.D.J.C. provenant des archives du Reichsleiter et Ministre A. Rosenberg* (Paris, 1963; = *Les inventaires des archives du Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Paris*, vol. 1).

⁷ See the Introduction to the Bundesarchiv finding aid for the Rosenberg Chancellery records (NS 8) at: <http://www.argus.bundesarchiv.de/NS8-25406/index.htm>, with links to digitized on-line documents.

Ebert's reports of the great abundance of "abandoned" cultural property led Rosenberg to request, already on the 1 July, Hitler's authorization for... "the organization, with the help from an Einsatzstab (composed of political leaders and experts) and from the Wehrmacht, of a thorough examination of items left behind by Jews and Free Masons, that would provide a basis for future intellectual study, as considered necessary for the political, ideological, and academic operations of both the NSDAP and the Hohe Schule."⁸ After its establishment in Paris by mid-July, the ERR also organized offices and working units in Belgium and the Netherlands.

A year later, just before the invasion of the Soviet Union, Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring was also taking credit for organizing the ERR, but his role was principally focused on art looting in France. He emphasized to Hitler in May 1941 that:

the war against Jews, Free Masons, their Allies, and other obviously pernicious spiritual agencies is an urgent task for National Socialism to accomplish during the War. That is why I approved Reichsleiter Rosenberg's creation of his Special Command Force in Occupied Territories [ERR. Its] mission... is to seek out and seize all manner of research materials and cultural goods belonging to the above-mentioned groups and transport them to Germany.⁹

In Alfred Rosenberg's "know thy enemy" justification for plunder, he often emphasized the importance of "saving for study" the books and related materials of the "enemies of the regime."

In the course of the war the ERR embraced a vast bureaucracy for ideological and propaganda research, as well as cultural plunder, working in conjunction with, and often in service of, other German agencies in the field such as the Wehrmacht, yet maintaining its own independence. Rosenberg's personal Chancellery coordinated his many functions in the Nazi Party, among them the DBFU. Gerhard Utikal, who directed the DBFU central office, also served as chief of operations for the ERR. The ERR headquarters (Stabsführung) was centered in Berlin (Margarethenstr. 17/18, Berlin W35), which also housed offices for the DBFU and Rosenberg's Chancellery, with additional offices in the building of the former Haus am Knie (Bismarckstr. 1). Other principal ERR units and research operations were located in and around Berlin in the early years of the war.

With increased Allied bombing in 1943 and orders to evacuate cultural property from Berlin, the ERR maintained only a skeletal office in the Reich capital. Several of its divisions and major research operations were evacuated to the isolated Silesian city of Ratibor (postwar Racibórz, Poland), south of Kattowitz (postwar Katowice, Poland). Some of its Berlin records from the early years of the war were lost in a November 1943 bombing raid, and others were transferred to the Silesian center. Meanwhile, the Music Special Staff (Sonderstab Musik) led by Herbert Gerigk evacuated to the castle of Langenau (postwar Czernica, Poland), further west in Silesia, while the Fine Arts Special Staff (Sonderstab Bildende Kunst) under Robert Scholtz evacuated to the castle of Kogl in Austria, which the ERR also used as one of its repositories for looted art. In all of these cases, important files went with them.

ERR operations in Western Europe based in Paris were headed by Baron Kurt von Behr, who later headed the Western Office (Dienststelle or Amt Westen) of the Reichsministerium für

⁸ This explains why Ebert is often credited with the idea of the Einsatzstab. No conclusive date for the founding of the ERR was established in the Rosenberg interrogation at Nuremberg. Office of United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1946), vol. 2, pp. 1333–37.

⁹ Göring memorandum to Hitler (Berlin, 1 June 1941), French translation in Jean Cassou, ed., *Le pillage par les Allemands des oeuvres d'art et des bibliothèques appartenant à des Juifs en France: Recueil de documents* (Paris: CDJC, 1947; "CDJC, Série "Documents," no. 4), p. 90. The same point is reiterated in Hitler's order (Führererlass) dated 1 Mar. 1942, reproduced in *ibid.*, between pp. 96–97, with a French translation, p. 99.

die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories – RMbO). Separate main working groups (Hauptarbeitsgruppen, HAG), often started as simply working groups (AG), were organized as successive territories were occupied. Changes in the military situation and the focus of ERR priorities brought several stages of reorganization among the working groups in different areas. Occupied lands under the Amt Westen were serviced by the HAG France, HAG Belgium and Northern France, and HAG Netherlands, at times with subsidiary units.

Simultaneously special staffs ran different types of cultural operations: visual arts, music, prehistory, and libraries, among others, growing out of and often overlapping DBFU offices.¹⁰ Their task designations shifted over the years, with changing personnel and priorities, while subject- and geographic-area designations were frequently intertwined.

The amorphous and changing affiliations of the ERR and its staff are hard to pin down, although primarily it continued to function administratively within the DBFU until the end of the war. At least through early spring of 1941, the ERR was using the name “Einsatzstab of the Offices of Reichsleiter Rosenberg” (Einsatzstab der Dienststellen des Reichsleiters Rosenberg), but in other instances it was designated as the “Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg for the Occupied Western Territories and the Netherlands” (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg für die westlichen besetzten Gebiete und die Niederlande). In both cases the name is usually found rubber-stamped below the DBFU designation on printed NSDAP letterhead.

On the heels of Operation Barbarossa, as the Wehrmacht advanced into Soviet lands, the ERR followed the invading armies on the Eastern Front; it dropped the “western” designation and used the name “for the Occupied Territories” (für die besetzten Gebiete). Meanwhile, Rosenberg himself already in July had been appointed to head the newly established Reich Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories (Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete, RMbO), although that appointment was not publicly announced before December. In occupied Soviet territories, the ERR was organized along geographic lines, following the civil administration under the RMbO. Initially most visible were the Reich Commissariat Ostland (Reichskommissariat Ostland, RKO), embracing the Baltic and much of western Belarus, and the Reich Commissariat Ukraine (Reichskommissariat Ukraine, RKU), based on pre-1939 borders, but extending rule into conquered lands to Crimea and the Caucasus. Eventually, on the Eastern Front, the ERR was organized into three main working groups: HAG Ostland for the Baltic, HAG Ukraine, and HAG Mitte for Belarus and western Russia. Territorial operations of the working groups or main working groups and sub-units varied in the course of the war, depending on the changing configuration of occupied lands.

Additional special commandos were designated, similar to those in the west, for libraries, archives, prehistory, or other specific goals. Many of these operated in conjunction with staff from other German agencies, such as the Reichsarchiv in connection with archival exploits. Representatives of the ZBHS and the IEJ were often involved in ERR library confiscations and plunder, first in Western Europe and later on the Eastern Front. The ZBHS Book Control Office (Buchleitsstelle), jointly operated with the ERR, was first based in Berlin, but then in 1943 moved to Ratibor, Silesia, with the ERR library and research operation center.

In Ukraine, some of the ERR cultural research and seizure functions were taken over in the autumn of 1942 by the separate Provincial Administration for Libraries, Archives, and Museums (Landesverwaltung der Archive, Bibliotheken und Museen, LV ABM). The LV ABM under

¹⁰ Willem de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996; also available in German), while primarily focused on ERR music operations, brings together considerable western documentation on the ERR.

Erich Koch's Reichskommissariat Ukraine took over or else overlapped the staff and many functions of the ERR. It was headed by Georg Winter, who simultaneously represented the Reichsarchiv, and who earlier had helped organize ERR operations in Ukraine, especially arranging archival surveys.

In Western Europe, early in 1942 an ERR offshoot, the Möbel-Aktion, was formed to strip furnishings from the homes of Jews who had fled or were deported. Rosenberg had recommended the program to Hitler in December 1941, and it was established under the ERR in the following months with offices in Belgium and the Netherlands as well as France. By April 1942, however, the M-Aktion was administratively shifted to Amt Westen of the RMbO, allegedly because many of the goods seized were to be destined for German offices on the Eastern Front. This also meant that the M-Aktion was bureaucratically under state rather than Nazi Party auspices, separate from but closely linked to the ERR. However, a strict demarcation was not always observed, and frequently M-Aktion leaders were reporting to the DBFU, to the extent that in the Netherlands, for example, postwar Dutch specialists have considered the M-Aktion a part of the ERR.

The ERR did not operate in Germany itself or territories annexed to the Reich such as Czechoslovakia and Poland. The ERR was active in Italy starting in the autumn of 1943 and briefly in Hungary in the spring of 1944. By November 1944, with German retreat from both the eastern and western fronts, and most of the "occupied territories" abandoned, the ERR name "for Occupied Territories" was dropped on Hitler's orders. By the end of 1944, the RMbO had also become virtually inoperative, and at this point, Rosenberg officially shifted the RMbO Amt Westen, along with the Möbel-Aktion it controlled, back to ERR jurisdiction, where both the Amt Westen and the M-Aktion had begun.

Even more important than its own various official agency names, or agencies to which the ERR reported at different times, its effectiveness and retention of its loot often depended more on who was pulling the strings from the outside, such as Göring for the ERR art seizures in France, or competing for the spoils – such as Heinrich Himmler, Reinhard Heydrich, and the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA) for books and archives – rather than its actual bureaucratic alignment.

THE ERR IN ACTION ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Books and Archives (France, Belgium, and the Netherlands). The ERR started operations in occupied France in late June and early July 1940, when Hitler authorized seizure under Rosenberg's direction of cultural materials of Jews and Masons, particularly those who had fled the country. The ERR remained independent but functioned within military authorities, in the case of France, often reporting to the Military Commander for France (Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich, MBF), paralleled by the Military Commander for Northern France and Belgium. Plundering operations were assisted by the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) and often accompanied by associates from the Hohe Schule or other German agencies. Even before orders came through from Hitler in late June, the GFP began securing abandoned Masonic lodges, Jewish institutions, and private homes of Jewish leaders.

At first the ERR concentrated on books and archives. Initially ZBHS director Walther Grothe and IEJ director Wilhelm Grau headed a special library command in Western Europe, seizing the most important private French Jewish and Masonic collections, such as those of the Alliance israélite universelle, the École rabbinique, the three largest Masonic lodges, and Jewish

book dealers, among others. While many books went to Berlin for the ZBHS, others went directly to the IEJ library in Frankfurt, which could boast an estimated half million volumes projected by early 1943. Through June 1941, Gerd Wunder headed library plunder efforts in Paris, before his recall to Berlin. Starting in 1943, he headed ERR operations in Ratibor, utilizing materials collected in East and West, for anti-Bolshevik research and propaganda efforts.

In France, the ERR also confiscated Slavic libraries, such as the Turgenev Russian Library, the Petliura Ukrainian Library, and private socialist collections in Paris, some of them destined for other research operations. After seizure of the Polish Library, for example, the ERR was forced to turn over its 130,000 volumes to the Publication Office (Publikationsstelle, PuSte) under the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin-Dahlem.¹¹

In securing books and archival materials, the ERR was actively competing with the RSHA. For example, the ERR initially seized the books and archives from the Paris Branch of the International Institute of Social History (IISG, Amsterdam), headed by exiled Menshevik Boris Nikolaevsky, with important Russian émigré socialist collections transferred to Paris in 1935. Most of the socialist archives from that collection were eventually turned over to the RSHA and other agencies, as were many other looted Jewish and Masonic archives.¹²

Similar ERR ravages proceeded in Belgium and the Netherlands, where they were likewise competing for library and archival materials with the SD and other organizations. In Amsterdam, the ERR set up headquarters in the building of the IISG, to which they transferred socialist materials seized in Belgium, including rich records of the Second International. In addition to more rich library collections of Judaica and Hebraica in the Netherlands, the ERR also seized a great deal of important ritual Judaica. Their exploits in that regard have been well detailed in a recent publication.¹³

Art Looting (France and Belgium). Meanwhile, important French Jewish-owned collections of art were being seized under German Foreign Office orders of Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, and assembled for “safeguarding” in an annex of the German Embassy in Paris under control of German Ambassador Otto Abetz. These included gems owned by various members of the Rothschild family, and by Jewish dealers such as the Seligmans and Paul Rosenberg. Starting in October 1940, on Göring’s instigation, the ERR took over almost all of the seized art. Göring was anxious to enrich his own collections, while he cleverly manipulated further ERR art-looting operations in France. Rosenberg already had an art bureaucracy in place in Berlin. Göring

¹¹ See, for example, Grimsted, “Twice Plundered, but Still Not Home from the War: The Fate of Three Slavic Libraries Confiscated by the Nazis from Paris,” *Solanus* 16 (2002), pp. 39–76; considerably updated in Polish, especially regarding the fate of the Polish Library (Biblioteka Polska) as “Dwukrotnie zrabowane i nadal z dala od ojczyzny. Losy trzech bibliotek słowiańskich przejętych przez nazistów w Paryżu,” *Archeion* 106 (2003 [2005]), pp. 47–84; at https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/archeion2005pkgarticle_cvi.pdf-overlay-context=en/russia-archives-and-restitution/bibliography. See my related case study, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris, 1940–2002: Books as Victims and Trophies of War* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 2003; “IISG Research Papers,” no. 42; electronic version (PDF file): <http://socialhistory.org/en/publications/odyssey-turgenev-library-paris-1940-2002>, and related studies listed in the Bibliography below.

¹² See more details about the fate of archives the ERR turned over to the RSHA in Grimsted, “Twice Plundered or Twice Saved? Identifying Russia’s ‘Trophy’ Archives and the Loot of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 15(2) (Fall 2001), pp. 191–244; at <http://hgs.oxfordjournals.org/content/15/2/191.abstract?sid=cfcc5e76-a0ee-44d2-b140-f612d1794f80>.

¹³ See Julie-Marthe Cohen, “Theft and Restitution of Judaica in the Netherlands During and After the Second World War,” in Julie-Marthe Cohen and Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek (eds.), *Neglected Witnesses: The Fate of Jewish Ceremonial Objects During the Second World War and After* (Institute of Art and Law [UK], 2011), pp. 199–252; at: <http://www.jhm.nl/collection/history/the-second-world-war-and-after> (pp. 199–221 only).

supplied assistance from the Currency Protection Commando (Devisenschutzkommando) for seizure from bank vaults, and arranged for the Luftwaffe to assist transport. Collections assembled in the German Embassy were moved to the Louvre, and then by the end of October, the ERR set up shop for art processing in the Jeu de Paume, a museum in the Tuilleries Gardens. That was the start of what became the ERR's best-known claim to the status of war criminals, namely the seizure of over 22,000 art objects from over 200 private Jewish collections in France and Belgium.

The ERR art-looting program was run by the Sonderstab Bildende Kunst and headed in Berlin by Robert Scholtz, another long-time DBFU associate. The Art Looting Investigating Unit (ALIU) of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS), characterized ERR seizures in France as "the most elaborate and extensive art looting operation undertaken by the Germans in World War II."¹⁴ Other than a few Belgian Jewish collections brought to the Jeu de Paume, the ERR was not involved in art-looting elsewhere in Western Europe, such as the Netherlands, where other specialized Nazi art agents were operating, such as the office of Kajetan Mühlmann. In Western Europe, it should be emphasized, the ERR concentrated on private Jewish art collections and with a few exceptions avoided plunder from state museums.

In the Jeu de Paume, the ERR carefully recorded its loot, in part to control the art collected, but also to justify its activities and increase its funding in trying wartime conditions and with competing predators. The ERR brought in art specialists to identify the provenance of the art objects seized in detailed inventories for each named collection, and went to great pains to register wartime destinations. Alpha-numeric codes were assigned to each item with the code name of the collection and numbers; most were duly registered with photographs prepared by ERR art photographers.

Thanks to the surviving ERR documentation and its postwar retrieval, it has been possible today to create a database for the individual art objects the ERR processed in the Jeu de Paume (at <http://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume>). This major effort, compiled under the direction of Marc Masurovsky, brings together data for over 22,000 art objects (21,700 entries) from ERR registration cards preserved in the National Archives in College Park, Maryland (NACP), combined with original ERR images of the art objects from the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz and some from other sources.¹⁵ Identifying images of the ERR wartime exhibitions for Göring and the Nazi elite in the Jeu de Paume are also now displayed on a French website honoring Rose Valland, the French curator from the Louvre who kept track of the ERR Jeu de Paume operation and the art collected there during occupation. Other images from the exhibitions can be found on the Bundesarchiv Bildarchiv website.¹⁶

Most of the early art shipments from Paris went to Füssen, the closest railway junction for the main ERR art repository in the legendary Bavarian castle of Neuschwanstein. Later French shipments went to the former Cistercian Abbey of Buxheim, but there were also other Bavarian

¹⁴ "Activity of the ERR in France" (15 Aug. 1945), OSS ALIU, Consolidated Interrogation Report, No. 1, compiled by J.S. Plaut, p. 1. See the full listing in Appendix 3; this and other ALIU reports are now available at Fold3.com: https://www.fold3.com/page/94438430_art_looting_investigation_unit_reports/. See additional literature cited at the beginning of the French chapter.

¹⁵ See Section 10.2.3. The database is housed at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, DC, jointly created with the Claims Conference. Citations to the original sources for the ERR-processed art objects at the Jeu de Paume are recorded in the chart of French collections (and a few from Belgium) below, Appendix 1. Included are references to many of the now open French restitution claims dossiers, and the images of paintings in the collections held by the Ministère des Affaires étrangères (Ministry of Foreign Affairs - MAE) Archive in La Courneuve.

¹⁶ See "Site Rose-Valland: Musées Nationaux Récupération" at <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-jdp.htm>. 123 images of ERR exhibits are also now on line in the Bundesarchiv Bildarchiv database: <http://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de> (search: 'B 323 /Bild-310').

destinations and several castles taken over as ERR art repositories in Austria. The castle of Kogl became Robert Scholtz's evacuation headquarters for the Berlin Office of the Sonderstab Bildende Kunst, while Füssen and the castle of Neuschwanstein remained headquarters for Bavarian operations. Starting in 1944, on Hitler's orders, much of the most valuable art from French collections was transferred to the salt mines above Altaussee in near-by Austria.¹⁷

Möbel-Aktion (France, Belgium, and the Netherlands). Even more horrendous in Western Europe was the plunder by the ERR offshoot, the Möbel-Aktion (M-Aktion), which, as mentioned above, stripped furnishings from the homes of Jews who had fled or been deported. By April 1942, when the program became fully operational, the M-Aktion was administered by Amt Westen of the Rosenberg Ministry – RMbO.

The M-Aktion nevertheless was headed by ERR staff, and the ERR reaped many of the prize cultural proceeds. In France, for example, the M-Aktion was run by Baron Kurt von Behr, as head of Amt Westen. Massive collection points, such as the warehouse near the Gare d'Austerlitz brought in extensive stores of household goods from pianos to pots and pans and children's dolls from an estimated no less than 38,000 homes in France.¹⁸ By August 1944, the M-Aktion boasted the removal of furnishings from over 68,000 dwellings in Western Europe. It also reported at least 29,000 dwellings in the Netherlands, most of the goods from which were sent to bombed out areas in Germany. The first choice of art objects plundered by the M-Aktion, including fine furniture, was turned over to the ERR for processing at the Jeu de Paume. Other M-Aktion branches operated with ERR personnel in occupied Belgium and the Netherlands.

The ERR separated art objects from the M-Aktion transferred to the Jeu de Paume into a number of special type-specific "M-A" collections, from paintings and Oriental *objets d'art* to weapons and rare books. Inventoried at the Jeu de Paume without revealing the name and address of the home from which they had been seized, most of the M-A collections were forwarded to special ERR art repositories in Austria, such as Kogl and Seisenegg.¹⁹ Choice musical instruments were turned over to the Sonderstab Musik, where they joined those seized by the ERR, many of which were sent to the ERR music center in Leipzig. They were later evacuated to the Abbey of Raitenhaslach in southern Bavaria near the Austrian border.²⁰ Most of the books seized by the M-Aktion were processed through ERR library collecting centers, such as several large ones in Paris and Amsterdam.²¹

¹⁷ Appendix 2 describes the principal ERR repositories.

¹⁸ See the album of photographs in Sarah Gensburger (ed.), *Images d'un pillage. Album de la spoliation des juifs à Paris, 1940–1944* (Paris: Éditions Textuel, 2010), which reproduces an album of original photographs of the Möbel-Aktion and its exploits in Paris found in BArch Koblenz (B 323/311); those photographs are available for individual order in the Bundesarchiv Bildarchiv database: <http://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de> (search 'B 323/Bild-311'). See also Gensburger's enhanced English edn: *Witnessing the Robbing of the Jews: A Photographic Album, Paris, 1940–1944*, translated by Jonathan Hensher with Elisabeth Fourmont (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 2015).

¹⁹ See the list of M-Aktion collections, including those from Belgium, in a separate section of Appendix 1.

²⁰ See Carla Shapreau, "The Loss of French Musical Property During World War II: Post-War Repatriations, Restitutions, and 21st Century Ramifications" (Berkeley, CA: Institute of European Studies, 2014), *FBF Annual Report 2012–2013*, pp. 74–83; available at: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9jn0p8k6>; see also de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik* (note 7).

²¹ See an initial account and examples of M-Aktion library plunder by Sem Christian Sutter, "The Fate of Books Confiscated in the Möbel-Aktion," in *Restitution of Confiscated Works – Wish or Reality? Documentation, identification and restitution of Cultural property of the victims of World War II. Proceedings of the international academic conference held in Liberec, 24–26 October 2007* (Prague, 2008), pp. 102–13.

THE ERR ON THE EASTERN AND SOUTHEASTERN FRONTS

Occupied Soviet Lands. Western Europe was only the start of ERR operations. With the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 and Rosenberg's appointment as Reich Minister for the occupied eastern territories in July, the ERR followed the Wehrmacht to the east. Rosenberg's long-standing attitude towards the Bolshevik regime may well reflect the harsher treatment of peoples on the Eastern Front as opposed to Western Europe, as apparent when he was queried in Nuremberg:

Q. Why were the occupied countries of the West treated differently from the occupied countries of the East?

A. Because those whom we considered as our adversaries or opponents from the point of view of our conception of the world are different in the West from what they are in the East. In the West there were certain Jewish organizations and Masonic lodges, and in the East there was nothing more than the Communist Party.²²

Such reasoning and his "know the enemy" approach also justified the extensive ERR program of anti-Bolshevik research. Already underway in Berlin in the late 1930s in preparation for the Soviet invasion, the program was centered in Ratibor starting in mid-1943, utilizing seized library, archives, and related research materials for ideological and propaganda aims.

The ERR found no rich private Jewish art collections in the Soviet lands (save for a few in the Baltic countries), where all major private property had long-since been nationalized. The Masons and "other pernicious" elements had already been eliminated and outlawed by the Bolshevik regime, while significant library collections of Judaica and Hebraica had been integrated into state repositories, if some of it not earlier sold off to the west during the interwar period. Hence even in the library realm, in contrast to private Jewish and Masonic collections seized in the west from Holocaust victims, the ERR turned to the plunder of Soviet state cultural, academic, and other institutions on the Eastern Front. In occupied Soviet territories, the ERR seized hundreds of thousands of books and other cultural assets – from Estonia in the north to Ukraine and Crimea in the south. They diligently seized Communist Party archives that local Soviet officials had had not succeeded in evacuating or destroying as ordered, such as those from Smolensk and Dnipropetrovsk, which were intended as prime sources for their research on the Bolshevik enemy.²³

In Lithuania, which had been annexed to the Soviet Union only in July 1940, as an exception, the ERR pillaged such important Jewish institutions as the Jewish Research Institute (Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut, YIVO) in Vilnius (prewar Wilno, Poland; also Vilna), only part of which had been evacuated to the west before the German invasion, along with many private and community Jewish collections. IEJ library Hebraica Department director Johannes Pohl was brought in to supervise the systematic plunder. Many materials not selected for shipment to Frankfurt were destroyed for waste paper.²⁴ The Latvian capital of Riga became a

²² "Testimony of Alfred Rosenberg, taken at Nurnberg, Germany" (29 Sep. 1945)... "Reason for Harsh Treatment of Eastern Peoples," in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 2, p. 1347.

²³ See Grimsted (editor and major contributor), *Vozvrashchenie "Smolenskogo arkhiva" / The Return of the "Smolensk Archive,"* Bilingual edn, ed. Marianna Tax Choldin, K.A. Dmitrieva, E.Iu. Genieva, and P.K. Grimsted (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2005).

²⁴ Regarding the ERR in Vilnius, see David E. Fishman, *Embers Plucked from the Fire: The Rescue of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Vilna*, 2nd edn. (New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 2009, with parallel Yiddish text); earlier version reprinted in Jonathan Rose (ed.), *The Holocaust and the Book: Destruction and Preservation* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), pp. 66–78. Related publications are listed in the Lithuanian section (see Section 5).

sorting center for book shipments to the west, and the ERR also netted a significant amount of Judaica there. At one point, they boasted one million books gathered in Riga, 90,000 of which had already been catalogued for the Ostbücherei, a special ERR library on Bolshevism. ERR reports from the Soviet Union indicate exactly the quantities and even often titles of books removed from which libraries, and where they were sent.

Soviet authorities, with museum and archival specialists working overtime, had barely enough time to evacuate the most important museum treasures from Leningrad and the suburban former Russian imperial palaces. There the ERR was able to plunder only the palace libraries, parts of which went to the Künsberg commandos, the trophy scouts from the German Foreign Office²⁵, while officers from the Wehrmacht's Art Protection Office (Kunstschutz) removed the Amber Chamber as well as remaining furniture and other trimmings, most of it shipped to Königsberg. Moscow museums, libraries, and archives had also evacuated their most prized holdings. Fortunately the German army ground to a halt outside the Soviet capital, although the fury of their plunder was to be unleashed on Belarus, western regions of Russia, and particularly Ukraine.

In occupied Soviet lands, as in the west, the ERR initially concentrated on books. In addition to the imperial palace library books from suburban Leningrad, they netted valuable early editions from Novgorod, Pskov, and Kyiv (Kiev), some of which were initially seized by the Künsberg commandos. After exhibitions in Berlin, and some handouts to top Nazi leaders, most of the literature seized by the Künsberg commandos was turned over to the ERR and ended the war in the collection for the ZBHS in the monastery of Tanzenberg in Austria. Those books were joined by another ERR shipment from Voronezh and Kyiv.

Ukraine suffered at least two-thirds (if not three-quarters) of the cultural losses of the entire Soviet Union. Early on the ERR sent several hundred thousand Jewish and Hebrew books from Kyiv to the IEJ, while rare books and other trophies were collected by the Künsberg commandos. By the end of 1942, many ERR staff members were serving in the LV ABM, based in Kyiv, under the RKU.²⁶ The LV ABM was, in fact, headed by Georg Winter from the Reichsarchiv, who had first been sent with the ERR to Ukraine in the autumn of 1941. Considerably more "Bolshevik" literature and art, to say nothing of archives and photo archives, were collected for further analysis of the main Nazi enemy on the Eastern Front and sent to Ratibor. As they were retreating from Ukraine, convinced many treasures would not survive the anticipated brutality of Soviet recapture, the Germans seized most remaining art, archeological, and ethnographic exhibits from state museums, as well as priority archives, to the extent that rolling stock was available. The ERR sent what cultural treasures they could to their repositories in the Reich, many via Cracow

The LV ABM itself, together with its chief Georg Winter, evacuated archives, rare books, and art first to Kamianets-Podilskyi. From there the most valuable archives were forwarded to the Reichsarchiv archival center for captured archives from the Eastern Front in Troppau (Cz. Opava), then part of the Sudetenland. (That was where Soviet archival scouts found many of the captured archives and also the LV ABM records.) When further retreat was imperative after Troppau was bombed in January 1945, many of the plundered Ukrainian and Latvian archives, rare books, and Riga museum exhibits ended the war in a Bohemian castle and the monastery of Kladrubby, west of Pilsen (Cz. Plzeň), then also part of the Sudetenland. Recovered there by the

²⁵ See Ulrike Hartung, *Raubzüge in der Sowjetunion: Das Sonderkommando Künsberg, 1941–1943, mit 38 Abbildungen und Dokumenten* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997).

²⁶ See Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire: The Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for the Ukrainian Research Institute, 2001).

U.S. Third Army, they were turned over to Soviet authorities as early as October 1945. The Soviet Union never acknowledged that act of restitution, and even today some Russians suggest the Americans had shipped them west.²⁷

By contrast, Erich Koch, the Reich Commissar for Ukraine, who was often at odds with Rosenberg, ordered art and icons from Kyiv museums that Winter had evacuated to Rivne and Kamianets-Podilskyi transferred to Königsberg (now Russian Kaliningrad), where he still held out as Gauleiter and Oberpräsident of East Prussia. Many of the cultural treasures from Soviet lands were destroyed there, if not by British bombing, then intentionally by the retreating Germans as the Red Army approached in February 1945, knowing that Soviet annexation was threatened.²⁸ Koch, like other Nazi leaders, assembled his own private collection of art in Königsberg with ERR help, some of which came from museums in Kyiv; part of his collection he managed to have evacuated to Weimar in 1945, where a remaining portion was captured by the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SVAG/SMAD) in 1948 and shipped to the Hermitage.²⁹

Together with the RMbO and other German agencies, the ERR sent trainloads of archeological and ethnographic collections, fine arts, Orthodox icons, and some prime examples of Bolshevik art from Soviet museums in occupied areas to designated ERR repositories in Bavaria. For example, the castle of Colmberg, near Lehrberg (Ansbach County), was the principal repository for shipments of art (paintings, icons, furniture, decorative arts) from northwest Russia, particularly Pskov and Novgorod, the imperial palaces outside of Leningrad (Gatchina, Pavlovsk, and Peterhof), and also Belarus and Ukraine. Most of the art and archeological treasures from Ukraine and Crimea went to the ERR repository of Höchstädt, where it also took some Ukrainian specialists it intended to employ for a projected research center. Other shipments went to Buxheim, which the ERR had already used for some of the overflow art collections from Paris.³⁰ Meanwhile, major groups of archives from the Baltic countries that were not sent to Troppau ended the war in the mines near Goslar in what became the British Zone of Occupation in western Germany.

THE ERR IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Greece and former Yugoslavia. ERR units were also active in Greece and former Yugoslavia, where they removed countless archival and library treasures, and even some important art and antiquities. For example, in the autumn of 1941, IEJ library Hebraica Department director Johannes Pohl headed a special ERR expedition to Greece, Sonderkommando Griechenland, based in Thessaloniki, from where over 90 percent of the Sephardic Jewish Community were later deported to their deaths by the Nazi regime. The ERR seized most of the community

²⁷ See Grimsted, “The Fate of the Kyiv Central Archive of Early Acts in the Second World War: A Triple Tragedy of Destruction, Plunder, and Propaganda,” in Serhii Plokhy and Frank E. Sysyn (eds.), *Synopsis: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Zenon E. Kohut* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2005); also in *Canadian Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 29 (Summer–Winter 2004), pp. 73–114; at https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/jus29-1-2_pkg.pdf; (updated from the Ukrainian 2004 version in *Arkhivny Ukrainy*).

²⁸ See Grimsted, “Art and Icons Lost in East Prussia: The Fate of German Seizures from Kyiv Museums,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 61 (2013), no. 1, pp. 47–91; at http://www.huri.harvard.edu/images/pdf/grimsted_kyiv_loss_mar_13.pdf.

²⁹ See Grimsted, “Nazi-Looted Art from East and West in East Prussia: Initial Findings on the Erich Koch Collection,” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 22 (2015), pp. 7–60; at <https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/pkg-kochcollectionijcpapr15.pdf>.

³⁰ See Appendix 2 for a description of principal ERR repositories.

archives and a large part of the library for the IEJ.³¹ A surviving hundred-page ERR report from November 1941, for example, graphically details their exploits between May and November of 1941, when their archival and library plunder had extended to Jewish communities and Masonic lodges throughout Greece.³²

Starting in 1942, the ERR was also active in Croatia and Serbia, confiscating many library books and archives. Initially, some confiscated materials were shipped directly to Berlin and Frankfurt, but after the ERR library and Book Control Office (Buchleitsstelle) had abandoned Berlin for Ratibor, most were shipped there. Reports, book lists, and even a card file remain to document their library seizures from Jews and Masons in Zagreb and Dubrovnik.³³

Italy. After the fall of Mussolini, the ERR appeared in Rome at the end of September 1943 searching for prime Jewish libraries known to be held there, especially the Rome Jewish Community Library (Biblioteca Comunale) and the Rabbinical College (Biblioteca del Collegio Rabbinico). In mid-October two freight train wagonloads were removed from the Rome Synagogue, both dispatched to the IEJ in Frankfurt; another wagon followed in December.³⁴ By that time, IEJ started to evacuate to Hungen. While many books from the Rome Rabbinical College eventually reached the IEJ outpost in Hungen, and most of them returned to Rome, the the December shipment went astray, and its fate still unknown, presumably with crates from the Community Library. None of the books from that important collection with many rarities have surfaced since the war, despite the efforts of an Italian Presidential Commission.³⁵

By early 1944 an ERR office for Special Commando Italy (Sonderkommando Italien; later AG Italien) was operating out of Verona under the direction of Dr. Hans Maier, who had earlier headed a task force under HAG Ostland. Only a few ERR reports survive in Berlin from the brief visits of Dr. Herbert Gerigk, who headed the Sonderstab Musik, and confiscations in Italy by his deputy Hans Unger, working first out of the Verona center. Extant reports attest to a few seizures as well as purchases and microfilming of music manuscripts.³⁶ Documentation also survives for a small shipment of music materials from Trieste, and there are indications of other books removed from that Adriatic port.

Other major ERR exploits in Italy, however, as evident in a few files remaining in Kyiv,

³¹ See Yitzchak Kerem, "The Confiscation of Jewish Books in Salonika in the Holocaust," in Jonathan Rose (ed.), *The Holocaust and the Book* (2001), pp. 59–65; at https://books.google.ru/books?id=v2PVv9Q1f1cC&pg=PA59&lpg=PA59&dq=Kerem+Confiscation+of+Jewish+books&source=bl&ots=rbJaVWC9E3&sig=nYxZHAF6giq1FAIWOaiXaHA18zU&hl=en&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Kerem%20Confiscation%20of%20Jewish%20books&f=false.

³² "Abschlussbericht über die Tätigkeit des Sonderkommandos Rosenberg in Griechenland," Athens, 15 Nov. 1941, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, NS 30/75; a digital copy of the original typescript is available on-line: http://www.argus.bundesarchiv.de/NS30_25600/index.htm, attached to the finding aid for the record group. Additional copies of the report are available among ERR documents in Paris (CDJC), Amsterdam (NIOD), and Moscow (RGVA) as described in subsequent chapters. (N.B. BArch links have changed since the 2011 version of the German chapter.)

³³ Some of these ERR files are now held in Moscow (see Section 6.1.1.), while others are in YIVO in New York (see Section 10.5.1.), with copies from YIVO in BArch-Berlin-Lichterfelde (see Section 3.1.1.).

³⁴ See Stanislao Pugliese, "Bloodless Torture: The Books of the Roman Ghetto under the Nazi Occupation," *Libraries and Culture* 34, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 241–53; reprinted in Rose (ed.), *The Holocaust and the Book*, pp. 47–58; at https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~lcr/archive/fulltext/LandC_34_3_Pugliese.pdf.

³⁵ Governo italiano, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, "Report on the Activities of the Commission for Recovery of the Bibliographic Patrimony of the Jewish Community of Rome Stolen in 1943," trans. Lenore Rosenberg, at: http://www.governo.it/Presidenza/USRI/confessioni/doc/rapporto_finale_eng.pdf.

³⁶ See Sonderstab Musik reports by Dr. [Max] Unger (Quito near Verona, 10 Dec. 1943 and Verona, 3 June 1944), and his letters to Dr. Gerigk (Florence and Verona, May and June 1944), and Maier correspondence with Gerigk (April–Aug. 1944) in BArch, NS 30/63; the latest Gerigk letter is dated "Langenau ü.Hirschberg, 1 Nov. 1944."

were more directed to propaganda efforts. As far as is known, the ERR did not confiscate art in Italy, although there were a few ‘purchases’ or ‘exchanges’ in connection with acquisitions for Göring’s personal art collection earlier in the war that involved individuals also working for the ERR.

POSTWAR FATE OF ERR CULTURAL LOOT

The postwar location, identification, and restitution operations, heroically carried out by western Allied “Monuments Men” – officers of Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Division (MFA&A) – retrieved a large part of the ERR and other cultural loot from designated ERR repositories, together with ERR wartime records about the looting.³⁷ Some of the loot was widely dispersed – through sales, M-Aktion distribution, or additional looting or seizure, much of which still remains at large; portions were destroyed in the course of shipments or even by intentional destruction. The ERR succeeded in destroying many of its operation files as instructed as retreat progressed. The MFA&A, with the help of art-looting intelligence officers from the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), succeeded in tracking down and interrogating many of the perpetrators in Western Europe.³⁸ As a result of these operations, wartime ERR documents became interspersed in postwar restitution, intelligence, and trial records, as will be seen in the descriptions of many of them in the Guide that follows. Thus wartime migration and postwar cultural restitution operations – or non-restitution in the Soviet case – have much to do with the dispersal of the records of plunder and their present locations.

Central to the western Allied postwar restitution program, the MFA&A organized a series of collecting points in the U.S. Zone of Occupation in Germany under the Office of Military Government, U.S. (OMGUS) for the cultural loot found in thousands of castles, salt mines, and other repositories. A French Central Collection Point was organized in Baden-Baden, with Rose Valland taking the lead in tracking down loot from France found in Germany. The castle of Celle, north of Hannover, became a cultural collecting point for the British Zone, bringing together many of the Königsberg and other Baltic archives, as well as treasures from Berlin collections that the Germans had evacuated to the Graslaben mine, initially assembled by the British in Goslar, further southeast. The ERR had been only tangentially involved in the case of the Baltic archives. In both French and British zones, records of cultural restitution were often intermixed with documentation on the return of non-cultural materials plundered by the Germans. It should be noted that restitution, as operated in postwar occupied Germany and Austria, actually meant repatriation to the country from which the objects were seized. In all four Allied occupation zones, items were normally not restituted to individual owners or institutions outside of Germany, even when they had been identified.

Restitution of ERR-Looted Art to France and Belgium: Munich Central Collecting Point (MCCP). Postwar restitution of a large percentage of the ERR art loot from Jewish collections in France and Belgium processed through the Jeu de Paume was possible because of the careful

³⁷ See Lynn Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe’s Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), chs VII–XVI, and the popularized account by Robert Edsel (with Bret Witter), *The Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History* (New York: Center Street, 2009), and the 2014 Hollywood film.

³⁸ See Appendix 3 for postwar art-looting intelligence and interrogation reports.

detail with which the ERR documented and photographed the art objects. Identification and return was aided, often with the help of French sources and postwar investigatory agents, who succeeded in tracking down that documentation and the valuable looted art. Half a century later, Hector Feliciano explained in *The Lost Museum* (1994): “Many of the obsessively precise Nazi looting inventories and art files are still the best and most reliable source to be used to reconstruct the history of these looted missing paintings.”³⁹

In the U.S. Zone of Occupation, the Munich Central Collecting Point (MCCP) was the most important transit point in the migration and restitution processing of ERR-looted art objects after the war. Because most of the ERR art loot from Paris was shipped to ERR art repositories in Bavaria and near-by Austria (both part of the U.S. Zones of Occupation), as well as the art and museum exhibits the ERR seized from the Eastern Front, most of the art objects were removed for restitution processing to the MCCP. There, however, the ERR loot was intermixed with even more art captured by other Nazi looting agencies, and also art evacuated for safekeeping from many German and Austrian public and private collections in major cities during the war. To aid the restitution process, MFA&A officers succeeded in bringing together many of the surviving German documents pertaining to art looting in a Document Center at the MCCP. Among those collected were voluminous documents on art looting created by the ERR, although several other Nazi art plundering agencies were also represented.⁴⁰

When crates of objects arrived in Munich, registration cards were prepared in multiple copies for each object, and a Munich accession number assigned to each “Property Cards Art,” which usually also recorded ERR codes or other registration data found. MCCP property cards also bear “exit” dates, documenting when the item was shipped out to the country of seizure. In the case of the extensive ERR loot from France found in Neuschwanstein and Buxheim, the MFA&A arranged shipments directly back to Paris in the autumn of 1945 and early 1946, but usually MCCP property cards were prepared for those items returned. Many of the objects were photographed in Munich, although often wartime ERR photographs were utilized, all of which became intermixed in the MCCP photo collection. Many different series of MCCP Property Cards Art and photographs survive to this day but, like other ERR documentation described in this Guide, they have been widely dispersed and often intermixed with other sources and incorporated into postwar restitution files.⁴¹ Yet they constitute important clues to track the life cycle of wartime plunder and migration. Those held with OMGUS records at the NACP are included with the MCCP files now on the Internet via the vendor Fold3.com.

The MCCP was only one of several collecting points for cultural objects organized by OMGUS. The Marburg Central Collecting Point was short-lived, and most of its acquisitions turned over to OMGUS Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point (WCCP) by June 1946. Some of the ERR loot that ended up in museums or other collections in other parts of Germany at war’s end were collected and processed through the WCCP, where they were registered on similar Property Cards Art, numbered, and photographed. Property cards in the NACP OMGUS records for those Wiesbaden items are also on the Internet at Fold3.com.⁴²

³⁹ Hector Feliciano, *The Lost Museum* (New York, 1997; French edn.: Paris, 1995), p. 7.

⁴⁰ For MCCP records now in U.S. custody, see Section 10.1.5. with references to electronic versions at Fold3.com from the *NARA Microfilm Publication M1946*. See the new account by Iris Lauterbach: *Der Central Collecting Point in München. Kunstschutz, Restitution, Neubeginn* (München/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2015; “Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München”) 34.

⁴¹ See description of the MCCP Property Cards Art and related photographs, among other documents remaining in U.S. custody in the NACP (see Section 10.1.5.4.5.7., Entry 520–Entry 523, and Section 10.1.9.2.4.).

⁴² The set of Property Cards from Wiesbaden that came to the States after the war are now on-line at Fold3.com from *NARA Microfilm Publication M1947* (see Section 10.1.5.4.7., Entry 501–Entry 505).

After the OMGUS Central Collecting Points closed down at the end of 1949, in Munich the German office known as the Trust Administration for Cultural Assets (Treuhandverwaltung für Kulturgut, TVK) continued restitution operations in Bavaria until 1962. Many residual working files were retained by that office, including recovered ERR documentation, MCCP property cards, and photographs, and hence those records today, as described below in the Koblenz Bundesarchiv branch, remain crucial for determining the fate of wartime cultural loot.⁴³ Many of the original photographs, along with art objects not yet returned to their legal owners, however, remained in the custody of the West German Ministry of Finance, which explains why they are now held in the Berlin Federal Office for Central Services and Unresolved Property Issues (Bundesamt für zentrale Dienste und offene Vermögensfragen, BADV) under the German Federal Ministry of Finance (see Section 3.6.). Additional photographs have surfaced among those collected by the Central Institute for Art History (Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, ZI), which now occupies the building used for the MCCP in Munich.

Munich Central Collecting Point Database. As an aid to continuing provenance research and verification of returned art objects processed in Munich, a bilingual German database was compiled by specialists from the BADV and the German Historical Museum (Deutsches Historisches Museum, DHM) in Berlin. Launched in 2009 on the DHM website, the database combines images of the Property Cards Art held today in the Bundesarchiv-Koblenz, with the 50,000 correlated images of individual art objects from the MCCP (previously not publicly accessible) that are now held by BADV.⁴⁴ It would be helpful to researchers if this key database could be eventually be augmented to include the equally extensive batches of MCCP property cards and images of objects held at the NACP (RG 260), all of which have now been digitized and displayed on Fold3.com. Similar databases are not yet available for cards and images from the Wiesbaden and Marburg CCPs, or for the corresponding British and French restitution cards. Meanwhile in the Jeu de Paume database (errproject.org/jeudepaume), MCCP numbers have been added to the ERR codes for those items from French Jewish collections (with a few from Belgium), including art objects from the M-Aktion, that had been processed by the ERR in the Jeu de Paume, which will assist correlation for those covered on MCCP Property Cards, and permit cross-searching in the DHM databases.

Database for the Sonderauftrag Linz. Another related Internet database launched by the German Historical Museum (DHM) combines images for individual objects and registration cards for art objects that had been brought together during the war for Hitler's projected museum in his hometown of Linz, the so-called Sonderauftrag Linz, also now available in bilingual format on the DHM website in Berlin.⁴⁵ However, only 53 items (56 objects) of provenance in French collections processed by the ERR in the Jeu de Paume have been identified in the Linz Collection, most of which were processed for restitution after the war in MCCP.

⁴³ See remaining TVK records and MCCP Property Cards Art in the Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 323 (Section 3.2.1.), and the on-line finding aid: <http://www.argus.bundesarchiv.de/B323-52029/index.htm>.

⁴⁴ "Datenbank zum 'Central Collecting Point München'," http://www.dhm.de/datenbank/ccp/dhm_ccp.php?seite=9; an English version is also available. Although ERR loot is only a small part of the art objects processed, the MCCP database regrettably does not have a field for ERR code numbers (although many are accessible in the full-text search mode).

⁴⁵ "Datenbank 'Sammlung des Sonderauftrages Linz':" <http://www.dhm.de/datenbank/linzdb>.

Göring Collection DHM Database. Over 875 art objects from the Jeu de Paume went to the private collection of Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, although some of those he utilized for his elaborate system of art exchanges to further enrich his own holdings. Nancy Yeide’s impressive 2009 printed catalogue raisonné of paintings in the Göring Collection, although not yet available in an on-line database, is a must for researchers following the fate of the ERR Jeu de Paume collections.⁴⁶

The earlier wartime catalogues of the Göring Collection (to 1945), from the originals held by the Bundesarchiv-Koblenz, have now been incorporated in another database on the DHM website, but researchers should be aware that these do not include the results of significant postwar research on the paintings Göring had acquired. Eventually, it would be helpful if that Göring database could be expanded to include the wealth of data and images of additional paintings in the Yeide catalogue as well as photographs collected in the French Foreign Ministry Archives, but for now the project remains limited in scope.⁴⁷

ERR Loot Still Not Returned. Many objects looted by the ERR, however, never made it to any of the restitution centers. Among many art objects registered by the ERR at the Jeu de Paume, an estimated 500 art objects were destroyed by the ERR in Paris in July 1943, as part of the campaign against “degenerate art.” Some objects were never registered. Others were stolen, while many were sold locally or exchanged by the ERR or its agents during the war. Still many others were sent for sale in Switzerland or other neutral countries, or syphoned off by Göring without ERR registration. Still others were hidden away and remained missing for decades, such as the Impressionist paintings recently identified in a Zurich bank, associated with one of the ERR art-looting operatives, Bruno Lohse.

Many of the major French Jewish families and dealers whose art collections were seized and processed by the ERR in the Jeu de Paume have now been identified. However, as of 2015 provisional figures suggest that little more than half of the items now listed in the Jeu de Paume database have been restituted to their prewar owners or heirs.⁴⁸ French specialists further estimate that those items that passed through the Jeu de Paume probably represent only one-fifth of the works of art that left France during the war, many of them, to be sure, not through the hands of the ERR. Many more families who lost their libraries, art objects, or home furnishings, or who for various reasons were not on the priority ERR lists, have never known the fate of the treasures seized from the homes they were forced to abandon. Many paintings seized in France, including many that passed through the Jeu de Paume and registered by the ERR, are still “Looking for Owners,” as apparent in a 2008–2009 exhibition in Jerusalem and Paris.⁴⁹ Many of the paintings exhibited came from the so-called French collection of Recuperated Artwork in National

⁴⁶ Nancy H. Yeide, *Beyond the Dreams of Avarice: The Herman Goering Collection* (Dallas: Laurel Publishing, 2009); see also <http://www.goeringart.com>.

⁴⁷ See the DHM Göring Database, compiled by Hans-Christian Lohr, at <http://www.dhm.de/datenbank/goering>. The collection of images of paintings from the Göring Collection held by the French MAE Archives, as of 2015 have been digitized and are publicly available in La Courneuve.

⁴⁸ Examination of the newly opened French sources in the MAE archive will probably raise that total. See Appendix 1, but many of the names of owners and collections listed there still require identification.

⁴⁹ See *À qui appartenaient ces tableaux? La politique française de recherche de provenance, de garde et de restitution des oeuvres d’art pillées durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale / Looking for Owners. French policy for provenance research, restitution and custody of art stolen in France during World War Two. Catalogue de l’exhibition Jerusalem-Paris*, ed. with an introduction by Isabelle le Masne de Chermont and Laurence Sigal-Klagsbald (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2008).

Museums (Musées Nationaux Récupération, MNR), which contains works of art repatriated to France after the war whose owners have still not been identified, although many have ERR codes. A catalogue with images of the MNR collection is available on the Internet, augmented by a database as part of the French Ministry of Culture Portal.⁵⁰ Such exhibitions and catalogues call attention to the continuing need for further provenance research with expanded reference tools.

Cultural Restitution to the Soviet Union. Tracing art and other cultural items plundered from Soviet museums that ended the war in the ERR repositories in Bavaria remains much more difficult today, as is apparent in the coverage below in chapters for Russia and Ukraine. Even more difficult is the attempt to trace books removed from Soviet lands, most of them by the ERR to its various book storage centers. Only since the collapse of the USSR have Russian authorities been publishing catalogues of losses, now displayed on the Russian website “lostart.ru.” Based primarily on prewar (c.1938) inventories, the data are not conceived for convenient searching, nor are they linked to available German seizure documents or Soviet retrieval reports. No mention is made of items returned by the Western Allies. The “lostart.ru” website also displays most of the published catalogues of “trophy” cultural treasures now held in different Russian state institutions.⁵¹ However, the promised public revelation of data regarding the foreign-owned “displaced cultural valuables” (as Russians now term their loot) brought to the USSR, lasted on the Internet for only a short period in 2003. It covered only limited listings for a few museums and libraries before it disappeared from public view.⁵² Because of the extensive cultural destruction in the USSR and the fact that German (and Romanian in Ukraine) cultural seizures there were by and large from state institutions, different patterns of German seizure and related problems are involved on the Eastern Front.

Problems arose because in the postwar period the Soviet Union simply did not have a centralized agency monitoring cultural displacements, keeping track of retrievals in relation to losses, and compiling additional data about missing items. The massive reports of losses for individual museums in the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission on War Losses (ChGK), opened for public research scrutiny only c.1990, were never updated once completed. Besides ChGK lists of losses make no distinction among cultural valuables destroyed, plundered at home, or seized by the Germans.⁵³ And there was no postwar attempt to link ChGK recorded losses with captured German documents listing seizures, or with items subsequently retrieved by Soviet authorities or returned from Germany and Austria by the western Allies. Given the inadequacies of those Soviet postwar compilations and subsequent restitution claims tendered to western occupation authorities in Germany for the staggering Soviet cultural losses, and the secrecy assigned to the sources, it is exceedingly difficult even to establish wartime plunder by the invader from destruction and local looting.

With the Internet launch of the ERR records in Kyiv described in the Ukrainian chapter,

⁵⁰ Lesné, Claude, and Anne Roquebert, *Catalogue des peintures MNR* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004); on-line database edition: <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/pres.htm>.

⁵¹ See the Russian website <http://lostart.ru/ru/>; also available in an abridged English version, “Cultural Values – The Victims of the War” (undoubtedly ‘valuables’ is intended) – <http://lostart.ru/en/>.

⁵² The long-promised updated version is still not available in 2015.

⁵³ The full Russian name in English translation was the Extraordinary State Commission for the Establishment and Investigation of Crimes of the German-Fascist Aggressors and their Accomplices and for the Appraisal of the Losses Incurred by Citizens, Collective Farms, Social Organizations, State Enterprises, and Institutions of the USSR (ChGK). Most of the records are now open to researchers in Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation - GARF), Moscow, fond 7021. See my discussion of the deficiencies of those reports in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, pp. 177–98.

much more documentation is readily available about ERR operations and the specifics of German seizures on the Eastern Front. There are many initial survey reports and some shipping inventories for ERR cultural plunder. Some ERR inventories were found for objects that arrived in Bavaria, and for those processed at the MCCP. Images of many items with registration numbers or other identifying markings from the plundered Soviet repositories are found on the Munich Property Cards, while U.S. restitution inventories to the USSR provide Munich registration numbers for items turned over to Soviet authorities. With those numbers, property cards for those items can now be found in the on-line MCCP database, some even with photographs; additional often divergent copies from NACP holdings are now online at Fold3. But again, the ERR was not the only agency responsible for cultural plunder on the Eastern Front, and it is often impossible to distinguish their loot from others.

Despite the lack of utilization of Soviet-captured ERR documents (hidden away in Kyiv, Minsk, and Moscow), and lack of knowledgeable Soviet cultural representatives at the MCCP or WCCP, the U.S. collecting points in Germany restituted over half a million items to the Soviet Union immediately after the war. That was many more than Soviet authorities formally claimed, or that many Russians today admit as having been received.⁵⁴ Additional Soviet valuables were returned from French and British occupation zones in Germany, although relatively few of those items returned had been plundered by the ERR. While Red Army Trophy Brigades were actively seizing cultural trophies of their own, Soviet authorities cooperated only minimally with cultural restitution efforts of the western Allies, and rarely sent qualified representatives to the Central Collecting Points. Soviet authorities never compiled and circulated adequate data about their losses, and they never utilized the extensive ERR records they captured to trace German seizures and out-shipments from the USSR. Yet despite their large receipts from the western Allies and their own extensive cultural retrieval, they complained bitterly about the lack of restitution from the west. That charge is repeated even today by Russian politicians and the public at large seeking to justify retention of the Soviet unilateral cultural seizures in Germany and Eastern Europe at the end of the war. Unlike the situation in the Soviet era, many valuable works of art and other cultural objects are today in private hands of the new business oligarchs.

Soviet Sources Repressed. While more and more Western sources are opening to researchers, many online, considerable Soviet archival documentation on cultural retrieval and restitution proceedings still remains inaccessible in Russia. Adequate provenance research and identification has still not been completed for many of the ‘trophy’ valuables ‘displaced to the Soviet Union’ at the end of the war and during the early postwar period, including some items previously seized by the ERR and others from foreign Holocaust victims throughout Europe. During recent years, alas, even documents that were earlier declassified relating to western restitution to the USSR and Soviet retrieval are again being suppressed.

For example, the Soviet copies of western item-level inventories of cultural restitution shipments to the Soviet Union from Germany and Austria include many items seized by the ERR in Belarus, Ukraine, and the Baltic countries, as well as western Russia. As late as the year 2000, Russian specialists in the Ministry of Culture were unaware those documents existed, even as they prepared extensive new catalogues of Russian wartime losses. When the Soviet copies still were not found by 2000, preserved original official inventories of nineteen outgoing U.S.

⁵⁴ See the Grimsted article with chart of transfer shipments, “Spoils of War Returned: U.S. Restitution of Nazi-Looted Cultural Treasures to the USSR, 1945–1959,” *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* 34(1) (Spring 2002), pp. 27–41. Electronic version: <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/spring/spoils-of-war-1.html>.

restitution shipments to the Soviet Union from the M CCP, W CCP, and other points, were published by the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) on CD-ROM in 2001. There were fifteen shipments from Germany, one from Austria, and one from Czechoslovakia, and also two later transfers from Washington, DC, including many items plundered from Soviet territories by the ERR.⁵⁵

Finally in 2009, this author discovered the Soviet incoming copies of most of those same inventories (together with Russian translations) in Moscow – not in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GA RF) with the contingent files from the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SVAG) where they would have been expected. Rather they were intermixed with recently declassified reparation and restitution files among the records of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade in the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE).⁵⁶ Limited access was possible only briefly. The series with the SVAG files was again closed for ‘reprocessing’, and in 2010, when the relevant series (*opis*’) was reopened it had been ‘sanitized,’ and the files containing copies of western inventories of cultural objects restituted and documents regarding cultural valuables retrieved by SVAG authorities had been withdrawn from public access. Hence full description of Soviet restitution and retrieval files could not be included in the Russian chapter of the 2011 edition of the ERR Archival Survey. Those SVAG files also included correspondence, claims, and receipts of cultural valuables intermixed with non-cultural items from the French and British zones of occupation in Germany. Details about and confirmation of the findings in the French and British Zones can be verified in publicly available French and British sources.⁵⁷

One other example of long suppressed and never-utilized sources are the recently identified German inventories for over 1,000 paintings and icons seized in 1943 by ERR and LV ABM staff and shipped from Kyiv to Königsberg, although the inventories cover only half of the German seizures shipped to East Prussia. Most of the items were destroyed in East Prussia in February 1945. Quite unexpectedly, carbon copies of the original German inventories were found in a little utilized series of U.S. Nuremberg records, and a copy with Russian translation from U.S. microfilms surfaced in long-secret records of a Soviet Commission searching for the Amber Chamber in Kaliningrad Oblast. So much attention has been focused on the Amber Chamber reassembled in the Königsberg Castle during the war that the fate of other art objects shipped to East Prussia has been overlooked. Nothing was written until recently about the German scorched-earth operations in East Prussia when the Red Army captured the area in 1945.⁵⁸ More provenance research is needed to determine specific losses and survivals.

While some Soviet cultural retrieval documents are now available in various archives, and the “Lostart.ru” website is expanding, other important sources that were open to researchers in the 1990s and early years of the new century (often only on a limited basis) are again off limits for public research in Russian Federal archives. At the same time, potentially important restitution-related and cultural retrieval files held by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs all

⁵⁵ *U.S. Restitution of Nazi-Looted Cultural Treasures to the USSR, 1945–1959: Facsimile Documents from the National Archives of the United States*, compiled with an Introduction by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted; Foreword by Michael J. Kurtz (CD-ROM edn: Washington, DC: GPO, 2001), prepared in collaboration with the National Archives of the United States. Free copies can still be ordered from NARA.

⁵⁶ Many of the related SVAG records are in GA RF, but the SVAG working restitution and retrieval files had subsequently become intermixed with records of the Ministry of Foreign Trade (RGAE, fond 413, *opis*’ 16). Finally declassified in 2006, they were closed again to researchers by 2010.

⁵⁷ Examples of the relevant French and British sources will be included in the revised French and British chapters of this Guide.

⁵⁸ See Grimsted, “Art and Icons Lost in East Prussia” (above note 25).

still remain classified. Perhaps even more important are the still classified, and even more extensive, relevant records under the Ministry of Defense, including records of the Main Political Command (GlavPU) of the Red Army, and related records of military shipments by the Trophy Brigades, held in the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense in Podolsk. Accordingly our description of those records is not possible in this Guide, and hence full public knowledge of what was and was not returned to the USSR remains unavailable.

Bremen Project Documentation. Even after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the “archival revolution” in Russia in the early 1990s, adequate Soviet documentation relating to our subject remains unavailable. While the Russians concluded ‘Friendship Agreements’ with a reunified Germany, they continue to refuse to restitute more spoils of war seized from Germany and Eastern Europe, such as the treasures of the Bremen Kunsthalle Museum.⁵⁹ Yet they still frequently accuse Germany and the United States of harboring many of the cultural treasures that had been seized from the USSR. To counter such charges, the Research Center for East European Studies (Forschungsstelle Osteuropa) at the University of Bremen undertook a major project in the 1990s to assess Soviet wartime losses and postwar restitution efforts. Specialists from several countries searched many archives and collected copies of related documents, leading to a series of important publications and collaborative symposia on the subject.⁶⁰ As one of the products of those efforts, Bremen specialists compiled a German-language database (1996) for items of Soviet provenance that passed through the MCCP on the basis of Bundesarchiv Koblenz and NACP documents.⁶¹ As then created, that compilation is obsolete today, not only in terms of software, but also because it lacks images combined with the object descriptions, which are now available in the 2009 German MCCP database on the DHM website.

It would be helpful for researchers today if the documents gathered by the Bremen Center, recently transferred to the Central Archive of the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SPK) in Berlin, could be fully processed and described for public research. That resource could augment the data available about still lost cultural valuables seized during the war from occupied Soviet lands. However, many of the original documents themselves have been reprocessed with changed archival signatures, and permission for open access may be difficult to obtain. A few of those materials are revealed in published German compendia, but they have made little impact towards more open and active investigation by Russian and Ukrainian specialists, many of whom are not

⁵⁹ See Konstantin Akinsha, “Why Can’t Private Trophies Go Home from the War? The Baldin-Bremen Kunsthalle Case: A Cause-Célèbre of German-Russian Restitution Politics,” *Spoils of War v. Cultural Heritage: The Russian Cultural Property Law in Historical Context*, ed. P.K. Grimsted; published as *International Journal of Cultural Property* 17, no. 2 (2010), pp. 257–90. Electronic text at: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayIssue?decade=2010&jid=JCP&volumeId=17&issueId=02&iid=7901872>.

⁶⁰ See Wolfgang Eichwede, “Trophy Art as Ambassadors: Reflections Beyond Diplomatic Deadlock in the German-Russian Dialogue,” in *Spoils of War v. Cultural Heritage: =IJCP* 17, no. 2 (2010), pp. 387–412; see pp. 403–405 for a summary of the Bremen Project and bibliography of major publications. Electronic text at: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayIssue?decade=2010&jid=JCP&volumeId=17&issueId=02&iid=7901872>.

⁶¹ Wolfgang Eichwede and Ulrike Hartung, eds., *Property Cards Art, Claims and Shipments. Amerikanische Rückführungen sowjetischer Kulturgüter an die UdSSR nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg – Die CD der Arbeitsstelle “Verbleib der im Zweiten Weltkrieg aus der Sowjetunion verlagerten Kulturgüter”* (Bremen: Forschungsstelle Osteuropa, 1996). See also Gabriele Freitag, “Die Restitution von NS-Beutegut nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg,” in “*Betr.: Sicherstellung, NS-Kunstraub in der Sowjetunion* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998), pp. 170–208, along with other articles in that collective volume from the Bremen Project.

fluent in German.⁶²

Indeed, more international cooperation is needed to bring together surviving data about seizure and retrieval of cultural objects from occupied Soviet territories to dispel prevailing beliefs that little was returned and that many Soviet treasures remain abroad. Today for independent Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic republics, such efforts might also help locate treasures from those republics that were returned to the USSR but never reached their home institutions. But at present, such issues remain exceedingly sensitive in Russia, where there appears to be little concern about resolving the continuing controversies or enabling further restitution among former Soviet republics, let alone abroad.

POSTWAR FATE OF ERR-LOOTED BOOKS AND ARCHIVES

U.S. Restitution: Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD). A large percentage of the ERR library loot that ended the war in Germany was returned by the western Allies to the country of origin, and thence, it was hoped, to the prewar institutions, owners, or their successors – to the extent they could be located and their claims legitimized. The Offenbach Archival Depository outside Frankfurt-am-Main, characterized as the “American antithesis to the ERR” and “the biggest book restitution operation in library history,” served as a centralized American restitution facility for many collections plundered by the ERR and other agencies. Yet it functioned without the significant ERR documents about wartime library seizures now available. Between its March 1946 opening and its closure in April 1949, OAD nevertheless processed more than three million displaced books and manuscripts, along with related ritual treasures, relying largely on *ex libris* and book markings for identification.⁶³ These included loot the ERR had collected from Jewish and other sources all over Europe for the IEJ in Frankfurt and Hungen, and the ERR-captured Masonic collections from Western Europe stored in Herzenheim. Although OAD returned nearly 300,000 books to the Soviet Union, most plundered by the ERR, Russian publications have only recently acknowledged any part of that restitution from the west.⁶⁴ OAD records described in the U.S. chapter below are now on the Internet (see Section 10.1.5.4.4.), and many of the French records of retrieval and restitution of library books are now open for consultation in Paris (see Section 2.1.1.3. and Section 2.2.6.). Large numbers of the library returns from OAD, however, represented books plundered by other German agencies. Those included many from the even larger collections brought together by the RSHA that had survived the bombing of Berlin, as well as those found elsewhere in Germany. It should also be remembered that many books plundered by the ERR and other agencies were distributed to libraries and other agencies throughout the Reich. Recently German libraries have been doing considerable provenance research and are finding even more books that are still “looking for owners.”

⁶² See, for example the well-researched articles in “*Betr: Sicherstellung*,” and the document collection by Eichwede, Wolfgang, and Ulrike Hartung, eds. *Verschleppt und verschollen: Eine Dokumentation deutscher, sowjetischer und amerikanischer Akten zum NS-Kunstraub in der Sowjetunion (1941–1948)* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000).

⁶³ See Leslie I. Poste’s article, “Books Go Home from the Wars,” *Library Journal* 73 (1948), pp. 1699–704. See the Internet exhibit by the USHMM at: <http://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-features/special-focus/offenbach-archival-depot> with links to images and bibliography. See also the well-illustrated OAD memorial volume by Gabriele Hauschke-Wicklaus, Angelika Amborn-Morgenstern, and Erika Jacobs, *Fast vergessen: Das amerikanische Bücherdepot in Offenbach am Main von 1945 bis 1949* (Offenbach am Main: Offenbacher Editionen, 2011).

⁶⁴ See Grimsted, “Pokhishchennye natsistami knigi vozvrashchaiutsia s voiny: Zabytaia istoriia britanskoi i amerikanskoi bibliotechnoi restitutsii v SSSR,” *Istoriia bibliotek. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* 6 (St. Petersburg: Rossiiskaia natsional’naia biblioteka, 2006), pp. 242–93.

British Restitution: Tanzenberg. At the end of the war, the British found over 600,000 books in the remote monastery of Tanzenberg, near Klagenfurt, in Austrian Carinthia that the ERR had collected from all over the continent for the ZBHS. British MFA&A officers kept several captured ZBHS librarians under house arrest to assist in restitution. The librarians had managed to burn most of their wartime files, leaving only a fraction of the ERR library-seizure and shipping records in Tanzenberg. Unfortunately, we do not know today the fate of all the German documents the British reportedly found. However, The British National Archives (TNA), as will be noted below, preserves extensive British restitution records indicating the books returned from Tanzenberg to many European countries, with lists documenting their owners.⁶⁵

For example, the largest single shipment of 975 crates that went home to the Netherlands contained materials from the IISH in Amsterdam, plundered by the ERR. French library restitution records follow the trail of the books returned to Paris in considerable details about their owners (see Section 2.1.1.3. and Section 2.4.6.). Another 569 crates with a total of about 65,000 volumes were transferred to Soviet authorities, including some 35,000 rare books from the former imperial palaces in suburban Leningrad, as well as many valuable early printed books from Novgorod, Kyiv, and Voronezh. Most of those were collected by the ERR working groups in occupied Soviet lands, although some were captured by the Künsberg commandos and transferred to the ERR in Berlin. This British restitution effort in Tanzenberg was only recently revealed in Russia. Regrettably, librarians still complain that many of the books returned never reached their home libraries in Kyiv and Voronezh, despite available lists and stamps.⁶⁶

Jewish ‘Redistribution’ and ‘Reconstruction’ as Opposed to Restitution. We also have to take into account that vast quantities of heirless Jewish books were turned over to Jewish reconstruction agencies for distribution around the world, and especially a large number were transferred to the United States and Jerusalem. It became U.S. Government policy, as was agreed with Jewish successor organizations, not to return Jewish books to Germany, even if there were markings to indicate their provenance in German Jewish Communities, many of which had been annihilated in the Holocaust or from which most of the luckier members had fled abroad.⁶⁷

The U.S. and British were also not returning books to the Baltic countries, given the fact that they did not recognize their annexation by the Soviet Union. And there was often reluctance to turn over other Jewish books to Soviet authorities, even with identifiable markings, given reports of growing anti-Semitism in postwar years. Vilnius and surrounding areas of Lithuania had developed major Jewish libraries in the interwar period, which had been pillaged by the ERR as noted earlier. Already in 1940 YIVO émigré directors had reincorporated that institution in New York, and as a result were permitted to retrieve many books and manuscripts from Vilnius collections including their own that had come to Offenbach after the war from IEJ Frankfurt and Hungen. They were transferred to New York via the Library of Congress Mission, which was also entitled to retrieve additional books from OAD, including German wartime publications that were not being returned to Germany. Thousands additional Jewish books were distributed for

⁶⁵ See Section 9.1.2. See also Evelyn Adunka, *Der Raub der Bücher: Plünderung in der NS-Zeit und Restitution nach 1945* (Vienna: Czernin Verlag, 2002), and her several subsequent articles listed in the ‘Bibliography’ below.

⁶⁶ Regarding British restitution to the Soviet Union, see Grimsted, “Rare Books from Voronezh to Tartu and Tanzenberg: From Nazi Plunder and British Restitution to Russian ‘Lost Book Treasures,’” *Solanus* 18 (2004), pp. 72–107; Grimsted, “Knigi iz Tsarskogo Sela vozvrashchaitsia domoi s voiny,” in *Kniga: Issledovaniia i materialy*, ed. I.N. Tarasenko (Moscow: Nauka, 2005), 72–94; and Grimsted, “Pokhishchennye natsistami knigi vozvrashchaitsia s voiny.”

⁶⁷ See more details on this subject in the Introduction to the Israeli chapter, Section 4.0.

temporary use to Displaced Persons camps in the U.S. Zone of Occupation.

From Offenbach, while 650,000 Jewish books were returned to their countries of origin, well over half a million Jewish books and manuscripts were declared “heirless.” An estimated over 500,000 Jewish books, close to 8,000 ritual Judaica objects, and 1,000 Torah scrolls were transferred first to Wiesbaden CCP and then to the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc. (JCR), an agency officially incorporated in the spring of 1947 as the cultural arm of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization. In 1949 JCR was recognized by the U.S. Government as the trustee of heirless Jewish property. As explained in Dana Herman’s a recent study of JCR,

Eighty-one percent of the cultural property was sent to Israel and the United States; nine percent was allocated to West European countries (with half going to Britain), and the remaining ten percent was distributed to more than fifteen other countries including South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, and Canada.⁶⁸

As has become apparent recently in revealing investigations, many of the transferred books did bear identifying markings of their owners or the libraries from which they had been seized.

From the heirless books that British restitution authorities could not identify or return to their countries of origin from the ZBHS horde in Tanzenberg, a large shipment later also went to Jerusalem. JCR also found the funds for transport to Jerusalem of an estimated displaced 70,000 books from throughout Europe that ended the war in Czechoslovakia, but most of those had come from RSHA deposits evacuated from Berlin to Sudeten castles rather than ERR loot.

Ratibor: Soviet Retrieval But No Return to the West. Before the 1990s, little was known about the third major concentration of ERR library loot that ended the war in and around the Silesian city of Ratibor, site of the major ERR research and library center evacuated from Berlin in the summer of 1943. ERR documentation long hidden in Kyiv, together with other files in Berlin-Lichterfelde, make clear that through the end of 1944, Ratibor continued to be the main collecting point for ERR book loot from all over the Continent, including the Balkans and the Eastern Front, particularly when the ERR began retreating from Soviet lands.⁶⁹ As the ERR retreated from Silesia in early 1945, the Germans evacuated millions of books from Ratibor and its vicinity, leaving them in warehouses in the small town of Myslowitz (Polish Mysłowice), a suburb of Kattowitz on a main east-west rail line. Red Army trophy scouts found the Myslowitz warehouses in the spring of 1945 and used them as a collecting point for additional library loot found in the vicinity, including one large abandoned German echelon in a railway junction near one of the several ERR satellite facilities.

In late October or early November 1945, 54 railroad cars containing over a million books

⁶⁸ Dana Herman, “Hashavat Avedah: A History of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc.” (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 2008), accessible online at: http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA:80/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=99925, quote from p. 7; see also Herman’s chapter “‘A Brand Plucked out of the Fire’: The Distribution of Heirless Jewish Cultural Property by Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc., 1947–1952,” in *Neglected Witnesses*, pp. 29–62. Herman presents a helpful analysis of the context and controversies in postwar handling of Jewish property. See also Dov Schidorsky, “The Salvaging of Jewish Books in Europe after the Holocaust,” in Regine Dehnel (ed.), *Jüdischer Buchbesitz als Raubgut: Zweites Hannoversches Symposium* (Frankfurt a/M: Vittorio Klostermann, 2005; *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, Sonderheft 88), pp. 197–212; and his extensive study in Hebrew: Schidorsky, *Burning Scrolls and Flying Letters: A History of Book Collection and Libraries in Mandatory Palestine and of Book Salvaging Efforts in Europe after the Holocaust* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2008), which is characterized in the lengthy English-language review article by Natan Sznajder, “Retelling the Book of Lamentations,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 37 (2) (2009), pp. 207–19.

⁶⁹ See Grimsted, “Roads to Ratibor,” above note 1.

were dispatched from Myslowitz to Minsk. Close to half of that shipment were volumes that the ERR had looted from Western Europe and the Balkans and gathered in the Ratibor center, while the rest the ERR had plundered from Soviet libraries, especially in Belarus and the Baltic republics. Unfortunately, a large part of the books and archives that the ERR had amassed in the Ratibor area were never returned to their prewar homes, including many books from many Soviet libraries retrieved from Silesia. They remain to this day in Minsk, together with an estimated 400,000 twice-plundered books and some important archival materials from Western Europe. Belarusian librarians still consider all of them legitimate “compensation” for their own horrendous wartime library losses. Although it is hard for many in Western Europe to understand why they would insist on claiming even those books bearing foreign library markings or personal dedications to Holocaust victims abroad, they still remain as prisoners of war in Belarus libraries to this day.⁷⁰ Additional Soviet book shipments from Silesia went to Moscow, and from there were dispersed throughout the former Soviet Union; we do not know how many of those books represent ERR loot. Many other books and related materials the ERR had amassed in the Ratibor area were left for the Poles, who found those and more in various parts of Silesia, only some of which were returned to their home countries; many now have had their wartime and prewar markings removed.⁷¹

THE DISPERSAL OF ERR RECORDS AND THEIR PRESENT LOCATIONS

The brief survey above of ERR wartime plunder and postwar Allied restitution has already revealed much about the dispersal of ERR plunder records, which today are often intermixed with sources relating to the location and return of ERR and other Nazi loot. It may nonetheless be helpful briefly to review some of the highlights here. When faced with retreat at the end of the war, ERR general policy called for the destruction of operational records that they were not able to evacuate. Fortunately, however, the ERR did not succeed in evacuating or destroying all of its files; many were left behind in the countries they were forced to abandon. Those, together with many outgoing ERR documents addressed to other agencies during the war, have been incorporated into various record groups of German occupation agencies in different countries, or of the Allied governments that occupied postwar Germany. Those are among the reasons why remaining ERR records or related records have been located in over thirty-four repositories in nine countries.

From Germany to the US and Back to Germany. For example, the ERR arranged to destroy most of its own working and administrative files that it was unable to evacuate from the Ratibor

⁷⁰ See Grimsted, “The Postwar Fate of ERR Archival and Library Plunder,” updated in the *Journal of Art Crime*, 4 (Fall 2010), pp. 23–47. See also Grimsted, “Silesian Crossroads for Europe’s Displaced Books: Compensation or Prisoners of War?” in Mečislav Borák (ed.), *The Future of the Lost Cultural Heritage: The documentation, identification and restitution of the cultural assets of WW II victims. Proceedings of the international academic conference in Český Krumlov (22.–24.11. 2005)* (Prague: Tilia Publishers, 2006), pp. 133–69; at <https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/silesian.pdf>.

⁷¹ See Grimsted, “The Road to Minsk for Western ‘Trophy’ Books: Twice Plundered but Not Yet ‘Home from the War’” *Libraries & Culture*, 39, no. 4 (Fall 2004), pp. 351–404; at <https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/libcult.pdf>. As an example of books and archives remaining in Poland, see most recently, Michel Vermote, “La Commission Daniszewski et le retour de Pologne de la ‘Collection hollandaise’: Du transfert d’archives dans le bloc de l’Est (1945–1991),” in *Saisies, spoliations*, pp. 301–12; at: http://www.academia.edu/3414268/La_Commission_Daniszewski_et_le_retour_de_Pologne_de_la_collection_hollandaise_du_transfert_darchives_dans_le_bloc_de_lEst_1945-1991.

area. ERR documents it did evacuate attest to that fact. Many of the files it tried to expedite further west, including some of the records transferred to Ratibor from Berlin in 1943, were found en route by Red Army trophy scouts, namely the large group now in Kyiv described in the Ukrainian chapter. Other ERR records evacuated from Ratibor (December 1944–January 1945) did nonetheless reach their evacuation center in Bavarian castle and former abbey of Banz on the estate taken over during the war by Baron Kurt von Behr, who had fled there from Paris and committed suicide before capture. Rosenberg himself initially also took refuge there at the end of the war.

Those documents hidden in Banz and in several other neighboring locations in Staffelstein, Bavaria, and vicinity were joined by others that Gerd Wunder, the chief of Ratibor operations, brought with him in February 1945. Those included many of Wunder's own office files from Ratibor, along with some books saved from the Ostbücherei. He set up a working office in Staffelstein.⁷² The materials gathered in the Banz/Staffelstein area were mixed in with records taken there from ERR headquarters units that had remained in the Berlin area. Some of the records removed from Banz by U.S. Army MFA&A officers were transferred first to a U.S. Army Document Center in Bamberg, Germany; more files were found in the Banz castle later. Other personal papers and office files found by the U.S. Army in Rosenberg's Berlin villa were first deposited in the Berlin Document Center. Many of the captured Rosenberg files from Bavaria and Berlin in original or copy were transferred to Nuremberg and incorporated in various pretrial series and later IMT trial records, while many (some in copy) found their way into other postwar groups of records, including ALIU files and restitution records at the MCCC.

A large part of the ERR records captured by the U.S. Army after the war, especially those from Banz and the Staffelstein region, joined by those from Berlin, became known as the Rosenberg Collection. After some dispersal and several intermediate transfers in Germany, including Nuremberg, those files were shipped to the United States and deposited in what later became the Captured Records Center in Alexandria, Virginia. That group of Rosenberg files, in addition to others created by the ERR and DBFU, contained many documents from other agencies Rosenberg headed, most notably the RMbO. Before their return to the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1960s, the complete "Rosenberg Collection" was microfilmed with a printed English-language finding-aid (Guide); that large series was erroneously entitled as if all of the documents were created by Rosenberg's Ministry (RMbO).⁷³ After their return to Germany in the 1960s, as will be seen in the German chapter, those Rosenberg records were all reprocessed by the Bundesarchiv according to their German offices of creation, and the U.S. microfilms are not used today in Germany.

The ERR files themselves comprising a separate record group (Bestand NS 30) are now available on the Internet efficiently linked to a more recent German electronic finding aid (see Section 3.1.1.). However, many more ERR or ERR-related documents from that collection are found with the records of other Rosenberg agencies, including the ERR's parent agency, the DBFU, now classed as NS 15 (see Section 3.1.3.). Since the DBFU was also the parent agency for the Hohe Schule, many of remaining files of the Hohe Schule, the ZBHS, and the IEJ are found in NS 15.⁷⁴ Many ERR planning, personnel, and correspondence files are interfiled in the

⁷² See especially Wunder's detailed report on the evacuation from Ratibor, in his "Meldung an den Stabsführer" (Staffelstein, 23 Feb. 1945), BAArch, NS 30/50. See more details in Grimsted, "The 'Smolensk Archive,'" in *The Return of the "Smolensk Archive."*

⁷³ See the introductory section on the Bundesarchiv (see Section 3.1), and a description of the microfilms in Section 10.1.1.1.

⁷⁴ Technically the Hohe Schule was not part of the ERR, although both were functioning under the DBFU. The ERR was

Bundesarchiv with records of the Rosenberg Chancellery (NS 8), now also available on the Internet linked to a recent finding aid (see Section 3.1.2.). Long held in the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz, following German unification, the Bundesarchiv brought together most remaining records of Rosenberg and other agencies from the Third Reich in its Berlin-Lichterfelde facility. However, most of the surviving ERR art-looting files from Western Europe, as mentioned above, now remain incorporated in the Treuhandverwaltung für Kulturgut (Trust Administration for Cultural Assets – TVK) records in the Bundesarchiv Koblenz (Bestand B 323; see Section 3.2.1).

From Paris and ERR Repositories to MCCP: Files Divided Between NACP and Koblenz.

Simultaneously, as mentioned above, the ERR sent many of its remaining Paris art-looting records, including inventories of the French Jewish collections from the Jeu de Paume, along with the plundered art works themselves, to its art repositories in Bavaria or to Kogl in near-by Austria. Early in 1945 many of those ERR records held in Kogl were moved back to Füssen, joining others already stored in nearby Neuschwanstein. Likewise, some original ERR inventories for art and archeological treasures from the Eastern Front were found after the war by the MFA&A in the castle of Höchstädt and the abbey of Buxheim, along with related documentation and hand-drawn plans of the castle storage areas. Those recovered by U.S. MFA&A officers were taken to the MCCP Document Center.

The most extensive ‘restitution research files’ organized at the MCCP incorporated various ERR and related documents from western sources. When MFA&A specialists prepared property cards for the individual art objects, they often used the ERR photographs rather than making new ones, and they used ERR inventories of artworks in preparing restitution case files. As a result, many of the relevant ERR wartime documents became interspersed with, and incorporated into, U.S. restitution files. When the Central Collecting Points were closed down, many of their records were incorporated into OMGUS records for transfer to the United States, initially to a records center in Kansas. Subsequently, as integral components of OMGUS records transferred to the U.S. National Archives, they were long held in the Suitland Branch as Record Group 260. Most of the CCP records and related restitution files, however, first went to the U.S. Department of State as part of the so-called Ardelia Hall Collection, named after the U.S. cultural affairs officer most closely involved in postwar cultural restitution. After the new Archives II building was completed in College Park, MD (NACP), all of those records were combined there in RG 260. Many of those files had been microfilmed in Germany before transfer to the States, and copies of those films are now preserved both in Koblenz and in the NACP.

As explained in the U.S. chapter below, in recent decades NARA has microfilmed most of the remaining OMGUS restitution records, especially those from the Central Collecting Points in the Ardelia Hall Collection. On the basis of a 2007 agreement with the commercial vendor Footnote.com – since 2011 known as Fold3.com – NARA has made some 2.5 million documents among those records available through digitization and Internet display. As of 2014, the OMGUS records from the OAD, WCCP, and MCCP, among other related NACP series, are all now freely available and searchable in full-text at Fold3.com.⁷⁵

the main supplier of its books and other research materials, and often Hohe Schule staff were simultaneously serving in ERR special commandos.

⁷⁵ See the list of microfilmed series available in the introduction to the NACP coverage (see Section 10.1.), and the chart of the series of NARA microfilm publications for the RG 260 (OMGUS), and especially for the Ardelia Hall Collection (see Section 10.1.5).

Residual CCP working files stayed in Munich, together with copies of the microfilms and/or printouts from them, for the German restitution office TVK that continued restitution operations in Bavaria until 1962. The TVK files were transferred in 1992 to the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz, where they are now held as a separate record group (B 323). This explains why many ERR files of correspondence, seizure reports, inventories, and photographs are now found among the MCCP/TVK records in Koblenz, not always duplicating those among the OMGUS records (RG 260) in the NACP. Because restitution activities continued longer in Munich after the dissolution of OMGUS in 1949, original ERR inventories and many more ERR photographs are found today in Koblenz rather than in the NACP. In 2009, the Bundesarchiv completed a detailed new finding aid for the Koblenz B 323 records, which is now available on its Bundesarchiv Koblenz website (see Section 3.2.1.). Regrettably, due to German privacy concerns, digitized versions of the ERR documents (prepared for the ERR Project) have yet to appear as planned on the Bundesarchiv website; however, they are available in the Bundesarchiv Koblenz Reading Room. Many of the images of individual works of art are displayed in the Jeu de Paume database, and some of the other ERR and related photographs from that record group have been incorporated into the database of images (Bildarchiv) on the Koblenz website.⁷⁶

Local Original Files in the Netherlands. The Netherlands is one of the few countries in which the ERR operated during the war where relatively complete operational files were found locally thereafter. Many were discovered in the late 1950s in the building of the IISH on the Keisersgracht, which the ERR had used as its Dutch headquarters. They are now preserved at the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam, together with a major surviving collection of original inventories of household goods seized from Jewish dwellings in the Netherlands (see Section 6.1.1). The original ERR files held there, including the M-Aktion inventories, are now available on the Internet as part of the ERR Project, conveniently linked to NIOD finding aids. The NIOD also holds other files of importance for cultural plunder and restitution in the Netherlands, including copies of many relevant ERR documents and those relating to the retrieval of ERR loot.⁷⁷

Dutch restitution files are now held in the National Archives in The Hague, including the records of the postwar Netherlands Art Ownership Foundation (Stichting Nederlandsch Kunstbezit, SNK). Also of particular interest from the SNK records is the collection of postwar object-level art claim documents files for individual paintings alienated from the Netherlands during the war brought together in the Origins Unknown (Herkomst Gezocht) Bureau in the National Archives building. Photographs are available for many of the art objects described.⁷⁸ Digitization of this collection is currently underway as part of the Claims Conference looted-art Project.

Although the ERR was not the principal Germany agency of art seizure in the Netherlands, it has recently been discovered that, presumably, some of the art works among M-Aktion seizures from Dutch and Belgian Jewish households were assembled in a special ERR coded collection in

⁷⁶ The 2009 finding aid for B 323 is available at: <http://startext.net-build.de:8080/barch/Midosasearch/B323-52029/index.htm>; the database of photographs can be searched in English or German: <http://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de>, but search terms do not necessarily follow the archival signatures in the finding aid, nor do they conform to those listed below.

⁷⁷ The NIOD website currently presents the files directly linked to the Dutch finding aid: <http://www.archieven.nl/nl/result-modonly?miview=inv2&mivast=298&mizig=210&miadt=298&micode=093a&milang=nl>.

⁷⁸ Contact information for the Origins Unknown Bureau can be accessed in English and Dutch at www.originsunknown.org with its important database of art retrieved to the Netherlands and turned over to state museums (NK Collection), but still not identified as to owner.

Neuwied, a customs house on the Rhine north of Koblenz. The paintings in that collection (with ERR code Neuw, or NWD) were sent to the ERR repository of Kogl (Austria) with other M-Aktion collections late in the war. Removed thereafter by the U.S. Army, they were transferred to the MCCC. Declared to be “heirless”, the entire collection of art was subsequently transferred to the Weisbaden CCP and turned over to the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO). As explained in the new Israeli chapter, 25 works of art from the Neuwied Collection have recently been identified in the Israeli Museum in Jerusalem. Dutch attestations of ownership for a few others have recently been identified in the Origins Unknown files in The Hague, most of which will soon be available on the Internet.

France: Original Files Amidst Restitution Records. Increasing access and reprocessing of French restitution records in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development (Ministère des Affaires étrangères et Développement international, FRMAE) now held in La Courneuve (on the RER line outside of Paris) make it possible to trace the fate and restitution of more French Jewish art and library collections plundered by the ERR, as will be seen in the French chapter (see Section 2.1). When the helpful French handbook for research in sources related to the Second World War displaced cultural assets appeared in 2000, the French archivist compiler could not legally have access to the Quai d’Orsay archives.⁷⁹ Ten years later, thanks to the 2008 French archival law lowering the period of closure to 50 years, the compiler of this ERR Guide was permitted to describe many highlights of that collection in the Quai d’Orsay. Fifteen years later since the 2009 opening of the MAE archives in the new facility in La Courneuve, as reprocessing continues, greatly expanded French finding aids are now available on line, as will be indicated in detail in the expanded French chapter of this ERR Guide. Given French privacy concerns, however, current plans do not call for Internet display of the records themselves.

The large collection of French restitution agency records held by the Quai d’Orsay, earlier under the title of the Commission for the Recovery of Art (Commission de récupération artistique, CRA), is now grouped together under the reference code 209Sup. As of 2015, for example, newly created finding aids are already available for two major groups of French claims dossiers (with a related series of photographs), and a large series of ERR inventories from the Jeu de Paume collections and related ERR documents, together with many French working restitution files. Additional restitution records from French occupation authorities in Germany and Austria, earlier housed in Colmar, have also now been reprocessed and are available for public consultation in La Courneuve (see Section 2.1.3.)

A few scattered ERR and ERR-related documents have been identified in the Archives Nationales, since 2013 held in the new site in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine (see Section 2.2.). These include part of the now well-described records of the German Military Commandant in France (MBF), with receipts for art seizures from bank vaults by the Devisenschutzkommando among them. Among other relevant records in the Archives Nationales are the French Nuremberg records. Some of the ERR-related documents that were used for postwar French collaboration trials of ERR staff are incorporated into court records, some of which are subject to more access restrictions.

⁷⁹ *Guide des recherches dans les archives des spoliations et des restitutions*, ed. Caroline Piketty, with Christophe Dubois and Fabrice Launay (Paris: La documentation française, 2000; Mission d’étude sur la spoliation des Juifs de France), available in PDF at: <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/Matteoli/RM-guide.pdf>. An updated on-line guide in preparation should be available later in 2016.

The printed postwar series listing French cultural losses has recently been digitized with full-text searching possibility, now on the French Ministry of Culture web portal – “Site Rose-Valland” – together with a database of the unclaimed paintings repatriated to France (MNR) and other publications relating to cultural losses and restitution issues.⁸⁰ That expanding portal also displays now-identified images of paintings displayed in ERR Jeu de Paume exhibitions. It also provides links to materials relating to library seizures and returns, as well as links to other important related sites abroad.

Included in the same web portal is reference to Martine Poulain’s pioneering study of French libraries during the war (now available in an expanded paper edition).⁸¹ Utilizing French library restitution records now open in both the MAE Archives in La Courneuve and the Archives nationales in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Poulain has continued to expand the coverage with Internet listings of individual and institutional victims to whom books were returned. Recent attention has also focused on a series of ten ERR lists of priority French library seizures, found in archives in several countries, now launched on the Internet display with an explanatory article.⁸² Indicative of the problem of dispersed ERR files in many countries, the most complete reports of ERR library seizures in France and Belgium surfaced among the ERR records in Kyiv. Others have been found in British Foreign Office records in TNA in Kew.

British Restitution Records On-Line. Meanwhile in the United Kingdom, significant progress has recently been made in archival description of relevant files in British wartime and postwar records in The National Archives in Kew (TNA, earlier the Public Records Office - PRO), including occupation records from Germany and Austria. Gradually description and digital images of selected documents themselves are becoming available on the TNA website. These files are scattered across many record groups of Foreign Office records and those of other British agencies involved in tracing looted art and cultural restitution. Starting in 2009, the Central Registry of Looted Art, 1933–1945 (London) oversaw a group of graduate specialists in the creation of expanded specialized finding aids, providing file-level lists of the most relevant documentation. Those lists are now accessible on the Central Registry website, including a separate document-level finding aid for some key files already digitized and available on the TNA website.⁸³

British restitution and related files listed from the British Zone of Occupation in Germany contain only scattered files of ERR relevance, because few objects plundered by the ERR were found in the British Zone. Most important, but not yet covered in the new finding aids or online, are British occupation records from Austria include extensive documentation regarding the ERR library collections amassed in the monastery of Tanzenberg for the ZBHS in Austrian Carinthia. The detailed reports and restitution records cover the estimated 600–700,000 books from all over

⁸⁰ See the series *Le Répertoire des Biens Spoliés* at: <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-rbs.htm#A>, on the same website with the ‘Catalogue des MNR’ <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-pres.htm>, and related materials included in the portal.

⁸¹ Martine Poulain, *Livres pillés, lectures surveillées: les bibliothèques françaises sous l’occupation* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008; updated paper edn: ‘Folio Histoire’, Gallimard, 2013); notice and on-line lists of victims with books restituted: http://www.cfaj.fr/publicat/livres_pilles.html and <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/SdL/MnR-SdL.htm>.

⁸² Grimsted, “La Spoliation de bibliothèques de France par l’Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg : Listes de bibliothèques spoliées par l’ERR”, on the website of the French Commission for Jewish Archives (CFAJ) at <http://www.cfaj.fr/>; English edn at <http://www.errproject.org>.

⁸³ Initial listing by the Central Registry of Looted Art, 1933–1945 (London) now appears at: <http://www.lootedart.com/MFEU4P39718>; a separate finding aid covering selected files is also available. Note that website also has many helpful leads for researchers in wartime art looting, and art provenance research.

Europe; examples of key files are listed in the British chapter (see Section 9.1.2.).

From Ratibor to Kyiv: Vital ERR Records On-Line. Before the period of glasnost and the collapse of the Soviet Union we did not even know about the existence of the major complex of ERR records held secretly since 1945 in state archives in Kyiv, which became available to researchers only in 1990. Initial published notes about them by the present author in 1991 represented an early step in the ERR Project launched in 2005.⁸⁴ Since independence in 1991, Ukrainian colleagues have done much to analyze and describe those files, especially portions relating to Ukraine. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian archives have not been able to reprocess the records. The Bundesarchiv was not in a position to assist because Ukraine refused restitution, and hence the files themselves remain in scrambled order. Those files include important ERR seizure reports and compilations from many parts of Europe, especially Belgium for example, as well as voluminous ERR reports on cultural seizures and other activities throughout occupied Soviet lands, including the Baltic countries. On the first of September 2010 the Kyiv “Rosenberg Collection” was launched on the website of the Central State Archive of Highest Agencies of State Power and Government of Ukraine (TsDAVO), together with a Russian-language “guide-index” (see Section 8.1.1.).⁸⁵ Five years later, the Internet display still has only Russian-language descriptors, but an English version is in process, with expanded description of key files for better international access. In addition to ERR files from Ratibor and Soviet lands, the collection also includes remaining files of the German occupation cultural authority (LV ABM) under the Reich Commissar of Ukraine. The latter agency took over most of the ERR staff and continued its functions during German evacuation from Ukraine, with its last office in Tropau (now Czech Opava), where Ukrainian archivists found their records along with many captured archives from Ukraine in 1945 (see Section 8.1.3).⁸⁶

ERR Files in Moscow and Vilnius. A few additional ERR files from Ratibor operations have ended up in the Russian State Military Archive (RGVA) in Moscow. Most of those files had earlier been accessioned from Belarus and Kyiv by the formerly separate top-secret Special Archive (Osobyi arkhiv, TsGOA SSSR) for Soviet captured records in the 1950s. Most of those files arrived in Minsk with the book shipment from Silesia mentioned earlier, but only a few of the Moscow files relate to wartime cultural seizures, most importantly in former Yugoslavia (see Section 7.1.1.). Related files were also transferred to TsGOA from Kyiv at the same time. The ERR fond now in RGVA (fond 1401k) in the 1990s acquired a major file of ERR historical monument registration cards prepared in occupied Soviet areas. Found in Poland, the cards were long held in secret, but finally published in facsimile and Russian translation in 1998.⁸⁷ An

⁸⁴ See Grimsted, “The Fate of Ukrainian Cultural Treasures during World War II: The Plunder of Archives, Libraries, and Museums under the Third Reich,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 39, no. 1 (1991), esp. pp. 54–57. The expanded Ukrainian monograph included appended documents, with the collaboration and translation of Hennadi Boriak, *Dolia ukrains'kykh kul'turnykh tsinnosti pid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny: vynyshchennia arkhiviv, bibliotek, muzeiv* (Kyiv: Arkheografichna komisiia, 1991; 2nd edn: Lviv, 1992).

⁸⁵ See the “Rosenberg Collection” in Kyiv at the TsDAVO website: <http://err.www.tsdavo.gov.ua>, with an extensive published Russian guide-index (see Section 8.1.).

⁸⁶ See more details in Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire*, pp. 323–27, and Section 8.1.3.

⁸⁷ Mikhail A. Boitsovyi and Tat'iana A. Vasil'eva, eds. and comps., *Kartoteka “Z” Operativnogo shtaba “Reikhsliiter Rozenberg”*: *Tsennosti kul'tury na okkupirovannykh territoriakh Rossii, Ukrainy i Belorussii, 1941–1942* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1998); = *Trudy istoricheskogo fakul'teta MGU 5* (ser: “Istoricheskie istochniki” 1). See the coverage of the rest of the ERR and related RMbO records (with a few M-Aktion files) in RGVA in Section 7.1.

additional 300 cards from the Baltic republics also remain in RGVA but were not included in the publication.

Another 150 ERR cultural registration cards from the Baltic countries remain today in the separate but fragmentary ERR fond in Vilnius. The Lithuanian State Archive also holds fragmentary files from local ERR library and archival operations there during occupation (see Section 5.1.). Some of these reference specific Jewish collections in Lithuania, including YIVO, decimated by the extensive ERR seizures before liquidation of the Vilnius Ghetto. Starting in 2014, YIVO has initiated a seven-year collaborative project of virtual consolidation of the YIVO files in Vilnius and New York.

Nuremberg IMT Records. Soviet authorities offered none of their captured ERR documents to the International Military Tribunal (IMT) in Nuremberg, where Alfred Rosenberg was interrogated, tried, and hanged for war crimes in October 1946. They did, however, use some of the captured ERR documents now held in the former Soviet Union for postwar domestic collaboration trials, as is evident in several of the current series within the ERR fonds in Kyiv. And that may suggest the existence of still more ERR documents in still-closed Soviet security agency records.

In contrast, many of the most important ERR documents relating to cultural plunder found by British and American armies in the west were processed in several pretrial series for the Nuremberg war crimes trials. Many of the most important ERR documents covering cultural seizures were prepared in the so-called Paris-Storey (PS) Series, generated in the U.S. Paris office of Colonel Robert Storey; copies of many of those documents are available in several different repositories. Documents actually used as evidence by the IMT were assigned exhibit numbers, sequentially under the code for the country introducing them: Great Britain (GB), France (FR), the Soviet Union (USSR), and the United States (USA). Copies of almost all those documents, translated into several languages, remain with the trial records in the National Archives of each of the participating countries, including the Soviet Union (see Section 7.2.1.), or in the British case, now in the Imperial War Museum in London (see Section 9.2.). Many additional documents prepared for the IMT but not used in court are found in various collections, although some were used in other war-crimes trials.

While official French records from Nuremberg remain in the Archives Nationales in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, just outside of Paris (see Section 2.2.5.), many of the Rosenberg documents submitted but not used for the trial went to the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (CDJC) after the trials. Now part of the Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris, the CDJC accordingly now has one of the most extensive collections of original and copied ERR documents, as well as documents from other Rosenberg operations (see Section 2.3.). Recently, the CDJC Rosenberg Collection has been digitized, and the French card catalogues are being reprocessed in a database system. As of 2015, however, only a small selection has been launched on the Internet, while many more documents are available on-line with helpful finding aids in the CDJC reading room. Internet display of more has being strongly encouraged by the Claims Conference ERR project for several years, but it has not yet been a priority for the Mémorial de la Shoah.

A GUIDE TO ERR AND RELATED FILES

As this Introduction makes clear, the present expanded and updated Guide should help overcome

the problem of locating remaining original ERR documents and those of related wartime NS agencies such as the Möbel-Aktion and the Hohe Schule, often found along with other records of cultural looting. And it should also point researchers to records relating to the postwar retrieval and restitution of ERR cultural loot, along with the cultural loot of other German wartime agencies. Research in the records of ERR plunder and the fate of its loot is still seriously hampered by their wide dispersal, including their incorporation into many different groups of records in many different archives in many countries. The international politics of restitution make it impossible for the ERR files to be physically consolidated in Germany, where they could best be appropriately processed for research by the Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv). For example, neither Ukraine nor France would consider turning over to Germany the large collections of ERR files from all over Europe that have been held in archives in Kyiv and Paris for the last 70 years: hence, the need to make available as many of the scattered ERR records (and related files) as possible virtually in electronic form with a locator Guide.

Initially the Claims Conference ERR Project planned to consolidate remaining ERR files from many locations in a virtual reconstruction with a systematic electronic finding aid, as had been suggested by this author in a seminar at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum a decade and a half ago.⁸⁸ However, such an ambitious plan for virtual integration in a single international database system, when initially attempted in practice, proved too costly and administratively too complicated to realize. Besides, even as digitization was starting to get underway in connection with the project, several of the largest holding repositories in the United States, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, and also Ukraine and the Netherlands, initiated their own digitization projects, often involving larger groups of records incorporating ERR documentation.

A Half-Century Perspective and Antithesis to the ERR. The fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War in 1995 brought renewed focus on the cultural devastation to the European continent wrought by the National Socialist regime with its ideological cultural operatives such as the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, and to postwar efforts to restore plundered culture heritage. In the context of the pan-European cultural legacy of the Second World War, the ERR has become a symbol of Nazi cultural plunder, albeit divergent in patterns of seizure East and West. The collapse of the Soviet Union that opened many archives, including the vast ERR files in Kyiv, made it possible to examine more thoroughly the ERR devastation on the Eastern Front. Revelations about the secret repositories brought new focus to the Soviet postwar response and the massive archives and other cultural valuables from all over Europe transferred as trophies to the Soviet Union, long kept in hiding – some for which the ERR had been responsible for wartime seizure.

The first major international conference on the *Spoils of War* in New York in 1995 coincided with the fiftieth anniversary and examined on a would-be academic basis the fate of European cultural heritage as a result of the war.⁸⁹ The conference coincided with and was inspired by the publication of Lynn Nicholas' *Rape of Europa*, and simultaneously the revelations about the long-hidden Soviet *Beautiful Loot* by Konstantin Akinsha and Gregory

⁸⁸ I first submitted a proposal for the project at the request of Wesley A. Fisher in 2000, when he was director of international programs (and later director of external affairs) at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, after a seminar on the ERR that I presented as a visiting fellow. That proposal was further developed in October 2000 at the Vilnius Conference on Holocaust-Era Cultural Assets (see note 92).

⁸⁹ The conference proceedings were published as Elizabeth Simpson (ed.), *The Spoils of War: World War II and Its Aftermath: The Loss, Reappearance, and Recovery of Cultural Property* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1997, in association with The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts).

Kozlov; those authors all took part in the New York deliberations.⁹⁰ Representatives from newly independent countries from the former Soviet Union reported seizures and retrieval problems. Participants even included some of the still living U.S. Monuments Men who had directed the U.S. Central Collecting Points in postwar Germany. That conference provoked the first major international confrontation between Russia and Germany on the issue of cultural restitution of the extensive “trophy loot” still remaining in Russia. The controversy remained unabated beyond the concluding presentation by Lyndel V. Prott from UNESCO of “Principles for the Resolution of Disputes Concerning Cultural Heritage Displaced during the Second World War,” while continuing serious disputes prevented UNESCO adoption of those Principles.⁹¹

Three years later, the 1998 Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets, sponsored by the U.S. Department of State, with cooperation of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, was pursued on a more official diplomatic level. It launched renewed international incentives for the tracking down and restitution of cultural loot from the Second World War with emphasis on art seized from Western European Holocaust victims. The concluding signed agreement by participating countries to the *Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art* has provided a model for “just and fair” solutions in the return of works of art to Holocaust victims and their heirs in numerous countries since.⁹²

The Vilnius International Forum, sponsored by the Council of Europe, followed two years later in 2000, with the concluding *Vilnius Forum Declaration* reinforcing the *Washington Principles*.⁹³ Its section on “Archives Access” served as the initial stage for launch of what became the ERR Project. The present compiler suggested the project of reconstructing the scattered records of the ERR, followed by comments from a senior NARA, archivist Greg Bradsher, whose guide to *Holocaust-Era Assets* had just appeared; from Patrick Caddell, Keeper of the Scottish Records Office; and Valerii Kulishov an official from the Russian Ministry of Culture. Wesley Fisher likewise spoke as then Director of External Affairs of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, who now, as Research Director for the Claims Conference, directs our present ERR Project.⁹⁴

My initial Survey of ERR Archives was almost ready for launch ten years later, when the Holocaust-Era Assets Conference held by the Czech Republic in June 2009 (as part of the Czech presidency of the European Union), brought together representatives of 47 countries and some 24 non-governmental organizations. Government leaders, diplomats, and specialists, gathered in

⁹⁰ See Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa*, since published in many languages, including Russian. See Konstantin Akinsha and Gregory Kozlov, with Sylvia Hochfield, *Beautiful Loot: The Soviet Plunder of Europe's Art Treasures* (New York: Random House, 1995). See also Nicholas' introduction, “World War II and the Displacement of Art and Cultural Property,” *The Spoils of War*, pp. 39–45, and 46–48; and Akinsha and Kozlov, “The Discovery of the Secret Repositories,” pp. 162–65.

⁹¹ Lyndel Prott's “Principles” in *The Spoils of War*, pp. 225–30; those principles were never adopted by UNESCO.

⁹² See *Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets, November 30–December 3, 1998: Proceedings*, ed. J.D. Bindenagel et al. (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1999; U.S. Department of State, Publication 10603); also available in CD-ROM; on-line version: http://1997-2001.state.gov/www/regions/eur/wash_conf_material.html. The “Washington Principles” appear at: <http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rt/hlcst/122038.htm>, and other Internet sites.

⁹³ See brief reference to the conference and the resulting “Vilnius Forum Declaration, 5 October 2000” at <http://www.lootedart.com/MG8D3S66604>. The conference website is no longer available. Official proceedings were issued in a small-pressrun edition with limited circulation: Emanuelis Zingeris and Ronaldas Račinskas (eds.), *International Vilnius Forum on Holocaust-Era Looted Cultural Assets, October 3-5, 2000: Proceedings* (Vilnius: Aidai & Partners, 2001). The title page notes the Forum was: “Hosted by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, International Commission for the Evaluation of Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania, and European Institute for Dispersed Ethnic Minorities, under the auspices of the Council of Europe.”

⁹⁴ P.K. Grimsted, “Comments for the Session on Archival Access,” in *International Vilnius Forum: Proceedings*, pp. 363–69. Interestingly in retrospect, Fisher raised “the odd question of the morality of reconstructing the archival documentation of a Nazi agency.”

Prague to reconsider the *Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art*, and again focused on the still unresolved issues of location and restitution of looted art and Judaica in international perspective.⁹⁵ The *Terezín Declaration*, signed at the conclusion reaffirmed the *Washington Principles* with renewed pleas for archival access and restitution, especially for Holocaust victims and their heirs.⁹⁶

Meanwhile the Russian Federation, the same year as the Washington Conference, instead of adopting procedures for restitution, passed a law in 1998 (with amendments in 2000) virtually nationalizing the Soviet spoils of war, and making restitution much more costly and difficult to achieve. Passage of the law appeared to justify the Russian “right” to retain their “spoils of war” and seek more “compensation” for their devastating loss of cultural heritage. But by that time specialists outside Russia already knew that those Russian “spoils of war” included many books and archives seized by the ERR, as well as works of art from many countries in Europe seized by the postwar Soviet Trophy Brigades, some of it belonging to Holocaust victims. By the time of the Prague Conference, there were only a couple examples of Russian restitution of art and books, none to Holocaust victims, although more had been identified. The only notable restitutions were archives to seven European countries, but hardly all remaining in Moscow.⁹⁷ A workshop at the Harvard Law School a year before the Prague conference examined the Russian law in international legal context and its subsequent effects on Russian cultural restitution, although Russia itself was not officially represented.⁹⁸ Nor was there a Russian participant in Prague for the Looted Art and Judaica Working Group series.

An International Portal for NS-Era Cultural Plunder: From Prague 2009 to Washington DC 2011. Of special relevance in the 2009 Prague Conference, during the opening Archives Panel for the Working Group devoted to Looted Art, Deputy Archivist of the United States Michael Kurtz, who then directed the NACP, announced NARA plans for expanded Internet access to some 2.5 million documents relating to Holocaust-era looted cultural property through the vendor Footnote.com – since renamed Fold3.com. He further announced an “International Research Portal for Records Related to Nazi-Era Cultural Property” with participating digital components from the National Archives of France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, together with those of the United States. Later in that same panel, the archivist now in charge of the French restitution records at the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Anne Liskenne, announced plans to launch more digitized files and finding aids on the Ministry website from those records long closed to public access. The present author reported on the imminent availability of the Survey of ERR archives in the context of documenting looted art. An additional report on the ERR Survey to the Judaica and Jewish Cultural Property Working Group, focused on

⁹⁵ The conference website and texts of many of the presentations are available at: <http://www.holocausteraassets.eu/en/working-groups/looted-art>.

⁹⁶ The *Terezín Declaration* is available on the conference website (see note 92).

⁹⁷ See *Returned from Russia*, above note 1, and the Grimsted essay on archives in note 95.

⁹⁸ See Grimsted, “Legalizing ‘Compensation’ and the Spoils of War: The Russian Law on Displaced Cultural Valuables and the Manipulation of Historical Memory,” in P. K. Grimsted (ed.), *Spoils of War v. Cultural Heritage: The Russian Cultural Property Law in Historical Context* published as *International Journal of Cultural Property* 17, no. 2 (2010), pp. 217–56; and “Why Do Captured Archives Go Home?: Restitution Achievements under the Russian Law,” pp. 291–334. See also the revealing articles by Konstantin Akinsha (above note 56) and Wolfgang Eichwede (above note 57), and other relevant contributions, as well as an English-language text of *Federal Law on Cultural Valuables Displaced to the USSR as a Result of the Second World War and Located on the Territory of the Russian Federation*, No. 64-FZ of 15 April 1998 (with amendments), translated by Konstantin Akinsha and Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, pp. 413–26. Full text of the issue at: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayIssue?decade=2010&jid=JCP&volumeId=17&issueId=02&iid=7901872>.

documentation for looted library books as well as ritual silver, Torah scrolls, and other Judaica.⁹⁹

Two years later in May 2011, the “International Portal” was ceremoniously launched on the NARA website at the start of an international conference on sources for provenance research in Washington, DC. Initial postings from France, Germany, Ukraine, and the United States were followed by the promise of more to come from Belgium, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately with budget restrictions and the retirement of key archivists involved from several participating countries, the NARA Portal was slow in keeping up to date, but a colloquium in London in May 2013 gave new incentive.¹⁰¹ Twenty-two repositories were included by 2014, with coverage of participating institutions from the United States, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Ukraine, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, and Austria.

Meanwhile, other countries have augmented independent portals: one of the most extensive is maintained by the London Central Registry of Information on Looted Cultural Property, 1933–1945, with an extensive international compendium of data, including many digitized international sources; the Registry also issues an informative weekly e-mail newsletter with summary references to recent publications, news releases, and notices of international conferences and colloquia, all of which are archived on the website.¹⁰² From Paris, the French Ministry of Culture maintains the expanding “Site Rose-Valland– Musées Nationaux Récupération, MNR” (Rose Valland Site – Recuperated Art in National Museums (MNR)).¹⁰³ Meanwhile in Magdeburg, the the Coordination Office for Lost Cultural Assets (Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste), with its extensive international database of lost art objects – lostart.de – has recently come under the newly established German Centre for Cultural Property Losses (Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste).¹⁰⁴ A smaller international portal in Bern is maintained by the Swiss Federal Office for Culture.¹⁰⁵ All provide coverage specific to their own country and institutions, as well as a varying number of important international links.

Just prior to the Seventieth Anniversary of VE Day, in the spring of 2015, and symbolically in Berlin, the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (EHRI) launched its Online Portal expanding access to Holocaust-related archival material in a wide variety of institutions in European countries and beyond. The initial inventory produced by the cooperative venture lists 1,829 archive repositories in 51 countries, with electronic descriptions and finding aids; as of

⁹⁹ Michael Kurtz spoke as chair of the panel; the reports of Anne Georgeon-Liskenne (MAEE) and Grimsted appear at: <http://www.holocausteraassets.eu/en/working-groups/looted-art>. The Grimsted report for the Judaica Working Group is at: <http://www.holocausteraassets.eu/en/working-groups/judaica-and-jewish-cultural-property/>.

¹⁰⁰ See the “International Research Portal for Records Related to Nazi-Era Cultural Property” at <http://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/international-resources/>.

¹⁰¹ See the 9 May announcement at lootedart.com: <http://www.lootedart.com/Q1PN1A878981>, and the TNA announcement at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/news/841.htm>. The updated Portal itself is at <http://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/international-resources/>.

¹⁰² Central Registry of Information on Looted Cultural Property, 1933–1945 (London) at: <http://www.lootedart.com>. The Central Registry also reports new publications in their open access weekly Newsletter.

¹⁰³ ‘Site Rose-Valland– Musées Nationaux Récupération’ (Paris), at <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-pres.htm>. In addition to the catalogue of MNRs (above note 77), the site presents other historical documentation, links to the series of guides prepared as part of the Matteoli Report; a section on seized books; digitized searchable versions of the French postwar catalogues of losses – *La Répertoire des Biens Spoliés*; and images of exhibits at the Jeu de Paume; as well as links to other helpful international sites.

¹⁰⁴ Coordination Office for Lost Cultural Assets (Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste), Magdeburg, at: <http://www.lostart.de>.

¹⁰⁵ The Swiss portal with a wide range of resources is available in German, French, Italian, and English: “Looted Art from the Nazi period” at <http://www.bak.admin.ch/kulturerbe/04402/index.html?lang=en>. See Catherine Hickley, “Swiss Website Aims to Help Museums Track Nazi-Looted Art,” *Bloomberg*, 17 Jun 2013, at <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-06-17/swiss-website-aims-to-help-museums-track-nazi-looted-art.html>.

May 2015 it boasts 152,694 archival descriptions in 465 institutions.¹⁰⁶ While the focus of the Portal is more broadly on the Holocaust itself, with less specific attention to cultural-loss research, the extent to which the listings will aid identification of documentation related cultural losses, or the location of cultural items and their owners is most encouraging. The impressive new EHRI Portal certainly deserves the attention of researchers as its continued expansion continues with the second phase started in 2015. Regrettably the only coverage from Russia thus far are references to copies of Holocaust-related holdings in archives of the Russian Federation held by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

More Conferences and the Seventieth Anniversary of VE Day. Discussion and revelations of looted and still displaced cultural valuables continue in many more specialized international conferences and workshops devoted to provenance research. Yet impediments in archival access and transparency, especially with respect to access to many dealer and museum records, remain. And in many cases more training sessions and international cooperation is needed in provenance research to further aid identification and restitution to victims of seizure. As noted earlier, most of the ERR the cultural seizures in occupied countries of western and southeastern Europe were focused on Holocaust victims. On the Eastern Front, by contrast, the ERR more often targeted nationalized cultural property in state-owned collections as opposed to private individuals or institutions. And given the 1998 Russian law, restitution issues are much more difficult. The 1990s saw several smaller foreign funded projects and colloquia in the Russian Federation and Russian participation in international conferences on the subject. More recent cultural policies and international tensions, however, have meant fewer possibilities of East-West cooperation in provenance research, discussion, and identification of looted cultural assets.

Those issues were the focus of an October 2013 conference in the resort town of Poděbrady, one of a continuing series of gatherings sponsored by the Czech Documentation Centre for Property Transfers of Cultural Assets of WWII Victims. The academic gathering raised the question “‘The West’ Versus ‘The East’ or the United Europe?” Indicative of the continued gap in East-West cooperation, from ‘the East’, only a lone voice from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences participated.¹⁰⁷ Yet even by the time his words were published, three or more wartime-seized pieces of art of Ukrainian provenance that recently surfaced in the West have not gone home, while civil conflict and war deflects attention from identification efforts and restitution issues. As apparent in the questions raised in Poděbrady, museum and academic specialists, politicians and diplomats from East and West still do not agree and are not prepared to implement principles duly signed in international resolutions from preceding decades. My own presentation in Poděbrady lamented the lack of a ‘United Europe’ on such issues, emphasizing the contrast in archival access to needed sources in Russia and the West.¹⁰⁸

Poland is another prime example of continuing restitution problems and lack of appropriate legislation. In November 2014, the Polish Ministry of Culture invited many international specialists to a conference in Kraków covering uniquely Polish wartime cultural losses still

¹⁰⁶ See <https://portal.ehri-project.eu/>.

¹⁰⁷ See Serhii Kot, “Return and Restitution of Lost Cultural Valuables: the Ukrainian Experience (a short review),” in Mečislav Borák (ed.), *“The West” Versus “The East” or a United Europe? The different conceptions of provenance research, documentation and identification of looted cultural assets and the possibilities of international cooperation in Europe and worldwide. Proceedings of an international academic conference held in Poděbrady on 8–9 October 2013* (Prague: Documentary Centre for Property Transfers of Cultural Assets of WWII Victims, 2014), pp. 144–47.

¹⁰⁸ See Grimsted, “Progress in Identification and Restitution of Nazi Cultural Loot?: Access to Archives East and West,” in *“The West” Versus “The East” or a United Europe?* pp. 120–43.

abroad. Only in the concluding discussion were voices raised from the floor calling attention to the urgent need for improved procedures for domestic Holocaust-related cultural restitution, cooperation in provenance research in Polish state museums and libraries, and appropriate claims procedures for displaced foreign-owned cultural treasures still in Poland.¹⁰⁹ To be sure, Poland lost more than its share of its national cultural heritage, to say nothing of the loss of its citizens and adjusted borders. Considered part of the Reich rather than an ‘occupied country’, only rarely was the ERR the culprit in Polish territories. Yet in the course of the war and its aftermath, Poland became a crossroads for Europe’s displaced cultural heritage, as pointed out earlier. For example the case of millions of books the ERR seized from East and West and assembled in and around its Silesian evacuation site in Ratibor (postwar Polish Racibórz). Half a million of those from Western Europe were shipped to Minsk in 1945, where most remain today, still considered by Belarus as “compensation,” even with dedications to eminent French Holocaust victims.¹¹⁰ Nearby Silesian centers and those in other areas that became part of postwar Poland brought in quantities of ‘red flag’ art, as well as ERR-looted musicalia and archives. Only small portions rescued immediately after the war or during the Communist regime returned to the West, while major portions seized (a second time in the case of items of Western provenance) went East. Even books and manuscripts from the Polish Library the ERR seized from Paris went secretly to Moscow (most transferred to Warsaw in 1956).¹¹¹ Many treasures acquired from all over Europe nonetheless remained in Poland, many still not identified as to provenance, or simply considered ‘compensation’; some of the books and musicalia were seized by the ERR. Vocal criticism continues that Poland still lacks a law facilitating restitution to Nazi victims or heirs within Poland itself, let alone procedures for claims from abroad.

Poles often consider foreign cultural property found in Poland as due ‘compensation’ for the horrific Polish losses, including even questionable wartime ‘purchases’ by Polish museums. Likewise Russians insist on abiding by their 1998 law providing for nationalization of cultural valuables ‘saved’ by Soviet Trophy Brigades and transported East. But certainly Poles are the first to complain about the seizures by their Soviet neighbor to the East, and remain anxious to claim the paintings and archives of Polish provenance yet to be returned.

Concerning those in Russia, sometimes there are only suspicions as to where they may be today, but as an important tribute to more ‘openness’ and transparency, the Hermitage in celebration of its 250th Anniversary in December 2014 released a large volume of archival documents relating to “displaced art,” dating from 1945 through 1958, most of them detailing seizures from or art returned to Germany and Poland.¹¹² The section on Poland opens with a photograph of the famous triptych of the *Last Judgement* (c. 1467–1471), attributed to Hans Memling, which now hangs in the National Museum in Gdańsk, having returned with additional but not all the seized paintings in 1956.¹¹³ I had not suspected earlier that there might be any paintings seized by the ERR in the Hermitage, but with that publication, I learned of at least three

¹⁰⁹ Proceedings from the conference are expected to be forthcoming later in 2015.

¹¹⁰ Grimsted, “Silesian Crossroads for Europe’s Displaced Books: Compensation or Prisoners of War?” above note 67. On line at: <http://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/silesian.pdf>.

¹¹¹ See above, notes 66–68.

¹¹² *Gosudarstvennyi Ermitazh. Peremeshchennoe iskusstvo, 1945–1958. Arkhivnye dokumenty*, compiled with an introduction by A.N. Aponasenko; ed. with a preface by M.B. Piotrovskii, part I (Saint Petersburg: Izd-vo Gosudarstvenogo Ermitazha, 2014).

¹¹³ *Gos. Ermitazh. Peremeshchennoe iskusstvo*, [p. 282]. The famous Memling painting has been subject to a long series of seizures and international transports. Commissioned by a Medici agent in Bruges and designed for a church in Florence, the painting was captured at sea by a privateer from Danzig in 1473. In 1807 it was seized on Napoleon’s order for the Louvre, taken to Berlin after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, and returned to Danzig in 1817. Transported to the Hermitage by a Soviet agent at the end of the Second World War, it was returned from Leningrad to Gdansk in 1956.

paintings identified as French Jewish property, a dealer forced to flee Paris in 1940; I have further documented the paintings as seized from a French château on behalf of the ERR, although they went directly to Göring rather than the Jeu de Paume!¹¹⁴

Conferences and workshops from year to year continue to reveal more details about lost or “displaced” cultural valuable, as lawyers argue principles and claimants attempt to find alternatives to litigation in “just and fair solutions”.¹¹⁵ More “ghosts of the past” – the title of a February 2015 conference at Columbia University – works of art, manuscripts, and rare books emerge from hitherto secret holdings public and private in many countries. Yet even as European nations celebrate the Seventieth Anniversary of VE Day and/or Soviet Victory over the Nazi regime responsible for such havoc and cultural loss, too much looted art and too many books and archives remain missing in action or still cultural prisoners of war. Nonetheless, as this introductory survey attests, much progress is evident in the many new resources and tools available to specialists to locate the archival files and other sources needed to identify the provenance of Europe’s still displaced cultural heritage. Sharper focus on the ERR and the records of seizure and trans-European migrations wrought by that agency lead us a step further in the task of *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder*.

More Electronic Links for ERR Files. The electronic publication of the initial Survey of ERR sources in March 2011, with data gathered over the past two decades, is accordingly now being further adapted to serve as an integrating Guide to accompany and facilitate electronic access to ERR and related sources described. With this updated version underway, coverage is being expanded of more documentation and descriptive reference materials recently launched on the Internet by holding repositories, as well as links to related international portals helpful for provenance research and identification of displaced cultural valuables.

The brief comments above regarding the postwar restitution of ERR loot and the dispersal of ERR records suggest some of the highlights increasingly to be found in the chapters that follow for individual countries. Updating the entire original volume is moving ahead chapter by chapter, with completed segments being posted on the ERR Project website – errproject.org.

Nevertheless, this reference volume remains a hybrid between a survey and a guide, and in some instances, even a more detailed analytic finding aid.¹¹⁶ Increased emphasis herein is on documents relating to the fate of the cultural loot the ERR seized in occupied countries across the European continent, often intermixed as it became with the loot of other Nazi agencies. For some repositories, where adequate finding aids are lacking, or where ERR documents are incorporated in other groups of records, the coverage has been extended to that of an actual file-level – and at times a document-level – finding aid. Such variation depends on the state and level of descriptions publicly available to researchers. More details about the organization of individual country chapters and the coverage of archival repositories within each country is explained in the Technical Note.

Coverage has grown in length and depth during its compilation over the past two and a half

¹¹⁴ Details of their provenance and wartime migration are still under investigation.

¹¹⁵ See for example the 2015 compendium from an earlier conference in The Hague, Evelien Campfens (ed.), *Fair and Just Solutions? Alternatives to Litigation in Nazi-Looted Art Disputes: Status Quo and New Developments* (The Hague: Eleven International Publishing, 2015); free pdf file at: http://www.restitutiecommissie.nl/sites/default/files/Fair_and_Just_Solutions-web-compressed.pdf.

¹¹⁶ See the analysis by Eric Ketelaar at the Amsterdam presentation of the original Survey at the Jewish Historical Museum in October 2011, at <http://socialhistory.org/en/publications/reconstructing-record-nazi-cultural-plunder>.

decades since the compiler first discovered in 1990 the most extensive extant collection of ERR files unexpectedly located in Ukraine. As one concrete example of East-West cooperation in the expansion of available description, utilization, and eventual Internet availability of long-classified German records, those files in Kyiv are now described in print and indexed on line (albeit still only in Russian) and openly available on the TsDAVO website, thanks to our ERR Project. Yet despite its expanding coverage and Internet availability of more documentation, this *Guide* remains a preliminary step, because most likely, more ERR or related documents will emerge in many countries beyond those currently listed. Nonetheless, the data described here should provide background and context for researchers in many fields who may want to utilize remaining ERR documents, as well as the newly launched object-level database of plundered works of art that were processed through the Jeu de Paume. Eventually with more documentation accessible and links among scattered parts, a comprehensive study of the ERR cultural ravages may also emerge.

Here we are dealing with the record of plunder and fate of the loot of only one key Nazi agency during the Second World War. That is only a small step in terms of the extent of looted art, books, and archives. The ERR had many competitors in cultural looting and the horrendous destruction, displacement and loss to the European cultural heritage resulting from the Second World War. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this attempt to track the sources for ERR exploits and the recovery of its loot may serve as a significant example of the resources available for piecing together the record of wartime cultural plunder and postwar retrieval and restitution. And it is further hoped that additional repositories and younger specialists will be encouraged to produce more and better descriptions, and to make more of their holdings efficiently accessible on the Internet.